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ABSTRACT

This newsletter contains articles, policy statements, and reports of research concerning the transition from school to work as well as youth education issues, especially in the United Kingdom. This issue of the journal is organized into two parts. Part 1 contains reports on research projects on student retention in a forest farm community project, post-compulsory schooling, the Asian Program of Educational Innovation for Development, and the International Institute for Educational Planning. Articles concern school enrollment, sex discrimination legislation, the why and how of education, and the youth training scheme in the United Kingdom. Perspectives are given on the Bodhi Farm and on permanent part-time work; and the Anderson and Blakers book "Youth, Transition and Social Research" is reviewed. A new series of summaries is introduced with summaries of government position papers on youth policies and school attendance, while the fourth issue in the "Looking at Other Countries" series focuses on the school to work transition in Japan. The second part of the journal contains two sections, one on research of labor markets and young people as well as a review paper about inequalities in access to postsecondary education. Information about the clearinghouse is included in the document. (KC)

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ED237672

The Australian National University

NATIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE ON TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL

Newsletter

PART I

Vol. 2 No. 4 November 1983

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IN THIS ISSUE

Page

PART 1

* ABOUT THE CLEARINGHOUSE 1

* PROJECTS OF INTEREST

. Homeless Children's Association: Forest Farm Community 3
. Retention and Participation Conference, Hobart, 29 November - 1 December 3
. Ministerial Review of Post-Compulsory Schooling 4
. Asian Program of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID) 5
. International Institute for Educational Planning (IEP 6
. Index 7

* FROM HERE AND THERE

. School Enrolment, Retention/Participation 1982 9
. Sex Discrimination Bill of 1983 10
. Education: Why? How? 10
. Youth Training Scheme in the U.K.: Some Comments 11

* ASPECTS

. Bodhi Farm
by *Mike Robertson* 13
. Permanent Part-time Work
by *Alan Jones, NSW Employers Federation* 18

* BOOK REVIEW

. *Dr David Ashton* reviews

. ANDERSON, D.S. and C. BLAKERS. Youth, Transition and Social Research. Canberra: ANU Press, 1983 25

* PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION 31

A new series: In this issue, summaries of

. Commonwealth Schools Commission. Participation and Equity in Australian Schools: The Goal of Full Secondary Education, October 1983 33
. TAFE Council Report to the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission on the Participation and Equity Program, October 1983 40
. Youth Policies, Programs and Issues. A Background Paper prepared by the Commonwealth Department of Education and Youth Affairs for the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development, October 1983 45

* LOOKING AT OTHER COUNTRIES NO. 4: JAPAN

. School to Work Transition in Japan: Recent Writing
by *Frank G. Hicks* 47

PART 2 Page

* YOUTH STUDIES: THE RESEARCH - Labour Markets and Young People. Part 1 57

. Preface 58

. The General Labour Market: a summary of the research
by *C. Blakers* 59

. Dynamic Insights into Youth Unemployment: A synthesis of recent research
by *Peter Stricker* 71

* REVIEW PAPER NO. 10

. Who Gets Ahead? Inequalities in Access to Post-Secondary Education
by *Don Anderson* 89

ABOUT THE CLEARINGHOUSE

With this final issue of materials for 1983, we wish to convey our thanks to the Minister for Education and Youth Affairs, Senator the Hon. Susan Ryan, for her approval of funding for the Clearinghouse which will enable it to continue during 1984.

The Clearinghouse has now been in operation for a full two years, and we hope we are learning, issue by issue, how better to keep pace with expanding needs and improve the quality of our materials. The comments we received on our end-of-year response forms are extremely valuable in what inevitably tends to be an isolated and insulated operation. We thank all those who have taken the trouble to return these forms with detailed comments. These will help to shape our scope and directions for 1984. At the same time, we remind those who have not yet returned the Mailing List response forms that a new Mailing List will be compiled for 1984 on the basis of responses or requests received. If you wish to remain on the Mailing List, please return the response form as soon as possible or let us know in some other way. If you do not wish to receive the Clearinghouse materials in 1984, we would still appreciate receiving your comments and suggestions.

The advent of the new Participation and Equity Program will affect both the title and the scope of the Clearinghouse. From the beginning of 1984, it becomes the National Clearinghouse on Youth Studies. We will maintain our present breadth of material coverage but will try to include as well information, articles and abstracts likely to be of particular use to those who are interpreting and implementing the Participation and Equity Program. As an indication, we begin in this Newsletter a new series on Participation in Education which we hope will contribute to wide discussion and understanding of the issues.

Given the welcome emphasis on Equity in this Program, we are (as we have mentioned before) particularly anxious to build up our information on disadvantaged groups in our society and education systems, such as Aborigines, migrants, the disabled. Very little comes to us in these areas and we are not sure whether this reflects a lack of such information or our failure to tap into the right sources. We will be grateful for any help our readers can give us with these issues.

The usefulness of the Clearinghouse depends essentially on the materials which come to us for the Abstracts. We would like to encourage people to send us papers, reports and periodicals as soon and as regularly as they can. One of our problems seems to be remaining on mailing lists, even after we have gone to considerable pains to ensure that we are listed in the first place. We would like also to receive information regularly on research in progress and on projects, programs or courses which could be of wide interest in charting new directions in the provision of education. Early in 1984, we shall send out a list of headings which people may find it convenient to use for return of information on work in progress, whether research or action.

We want to take this opportunity of expressing our thanks and appreciation to the very large number of people who have contributed to the operation and development of the Clearinghouse: to all those who have in the last year sent us material for the Abstracts; to those who have so

generously given their time to the writing of articles for the Newsletter, which (judging from responses to our August questionnaire) have been widely read and appreciated; to our Advisory Committee who have given us support, encouragement and guidance throughout the year; to the Department of Education and Youth Affairs which has provided the funding for the project since its inception; to the particular officers of that Department who have been our main contacts and who have been both supportive and patient during the year.

We also want to thank many people within the ANU for a variety of support and help: the Department of Sociology, Research School of Social Sciences, wherein we are accommodated and whose facilities we use; Professor Frank Jones for his support of our operation; Ms Brenda Nicholson who has now joined the Clearinghouse part-time and taken over the often thankless and frustrating tasks of administration and organisation; Ms Eveline Bancroft who accepts cheerfully (occasionally with patient resignation) the vast amount of material involved in the typing of the Abstracts and the Newsletter; Bernadette Brown and Sarah Anderson, both students at the ANU, who have throughout the year carried out so much of the tedious work necessary for card indexing, photocopying and packing of materials.

To all our readers we wish a Happy Christmas and New Year.

NO COMMENT

Without doubt, one of the most serious educational problems confronting society today is that of the numbers of children who leave school before they have had time to take full advantage of the opportunities which are available ...

Whatever reasons are behind this refusal to continue schooling, it is obvious that in some way, either the schools are failing to provide the type of education which meets the needs of the children, or there are pressures outside the school which are sufficiently strong to make them leave as soon as they reach the appropriate age.

N. Buckman - 1961

* PROJECTS OF INTEREST

New South Wales

. The Homeless Children's Association: Forest Farm Community

The Homeless Children's Association was formed in September 1980 not merely 'to contribute to a huge and growing social problem affecting young people, or to become just another part of a decomposing welfare sector, but to seek real and permanent solutions to the problems facing young people and their families'. The Association, having devoted its initial efforts to providing crisis accommodation in central Sydney, concluded that solutions were not to be found in ad hoc and isolated programs or in welfare approaches. The problems of young people in need are broader, deeper and more complex. The Association believes that the solution lies in 'a community lead reconstruction'. Hence the concept of Forest Farm Community.

This village type community is being established on a 160 acre piece of erosion land at Mangrove Mountain, Gosford (NSW) handed over to the Association in 1981. An intensive study of the problems and issues by the University of Sydney produced the concept of a self-sufficient mixed economy rural village, after the style of an Israeli 'Kibbutz'.

The buildings which have been designed are scattered around a village 'common' and consist of a large three-wing community building, office, recreation room and library, greenhouse, stables, mechanical workshop, craft and educational building, and general accommodation. All have been designed with cost in mind, and use on-site and second grade building materials. They will be built largely by the people who will live in them.

The Community will offer an opportunity for productive enterprise and initiative in a variety of undertakings: agricultural, manufacturing and service. It is planning a computer data bank to supply much needed information to the new technologically minded people in Sydney and Newcastle as well as a joinery shop to manufacture toys and restore furniture. It is not unrealistic to assume that within a few years, Forest Farm could become financially self-supporting.

Information from:

Mr M.F. Voorbij, Secretary
The Forest Farm Community
56 Edgecliff Road, Woollahra, N.S.W. 2025

TASMANIA

. Retention and Participation Conference, Hobart, 29 November - 1 December

This Conference has been arranged by the Tasmanian Department of Education as a forum for discussion of the trends and issues in retention and participation in schooling. A number of persons from outside Tasmania (including a representative of the Clearinghouse) have been invited to attend as consultants.

The Conference will cover such topics as

- retention/participation in Tasmania
- the national scene
- secondary colleges in the ACT
- curriculum development
- 'credentialling'
- alternative courses.

VICTORIA

. Ministerial Review of Post-Compulsory Schooling

This Review is concerned with the education and training arrangements for young people aged 15-19 years who are not engaged in post-secondary courses. It focuses on the nature and coverage of courses in Years 11 and 12 in schools and of full-time TAFE courses not associated with concurrent employment (for example, pre-employment, EPUY courses). The Review is chaired by Jean Blackburn with a Co-ordinating Committee comprising Dr Norman Curry (Director-General, Education Department), Fr. Tom Doyle (Director, Catholic Education Office), Mr Peter Kirby (Chairman, TAFE Board), Dr Ken McKinnon (Chairman, State Board of Education) and Mr Bernard Rechter (Chairman, Victorian Institute of Secondary Education).

The Review is in three stages. First, an initial policy discussion paper will be produced during the next few months. It will survey, in broad terms, the current provision of education and training for young people; examine the assumptions underlying the present provisions in terms of their appropriateness for a changed social context; and canvass options related to participation, types of courses, credentials and structures. Next, wide public discussion of the paper will be encouraged and a number of working parties, representative of interested organisations and the providers of educational services, will be established to consider issues requiring resolutions. Finally, by the end of 1984, a revised paper reflecting the responses of interested parties will recommend operational moves.

A working party has been established to assist in the production of the initial paper. Its members are Dr Ian Allen (Education Department), Mr Ian Predl (TAFE), Ms Pat Reeve and Mr Gerry Tickell (State Board of Education), Mr Frank Rogan (Catholic Education Office) and Ms Barbara Spalding (VISE). This working party is a crucial means of channelling requests for information and acts as a sounding board for issues and drafts. Dr Helen Praetz has been seconded from VISE to work on the initial report and, thereafter, Ms Marion Russell, seconded from the Education Department, is the Review's Executive Officer. A range of other people having particular knowledge relevant to particular issues will be consulted.

This approach to the Review avoids the heavy demands on time, effort and resources required by the more usual practice of calling submissions. It means that a description of the present arrangements can be provided and issues identified, enabling both public discussion and the consultation

with interested organisations to be informed, focused and productive.

Further information may be obtained from:

The Ministerial Review of Post-Compulsory Schooling
2 Treasury Place
Melbourne, Victoria 3000 [03] 651 9111

INTERNATIONAL

. Asian Program of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID)

The aims of APEID are:

- to encourage the Member States to promote the involvement and participation of people on a broad basis (students, teachers, parents, village and community leaders) in making relevant changes in education
- to contribute to the Member States' efforts to identify and undertake innovations and transformations which respond to high priority needs as identified by the Member States
- to promote understanding and appreciation of the differences in educational practices and approaches, and thereby contribute to international understanding.

Member States are: Afghanistan, Australia, Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Maldives, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea. Philippines, Republic of Korea, Singapore, Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Turkey.

Eight program areas are being developed. These include:

- Universalization of education by promoting access to education at the first level and equalization of educational opportunities through support for development and implementation of innovative programs to enhance learning competence suited to the needs of learning groups, notably those who suffer from deprivation of educational access such as girls and women, out-of-school children and youth, disadvantaged sections of the population and the disabled; and treating health and nutrition as an integral part of 'universal' education
- Linking education and work by stimulating and supporting innovative programs of incorporating work in general education, vocationalization of secondary education, for the in-school and out-of-school population, in response to the changing social and economic needs and possibilities
- Promotion of co-operative studies, reflections and research aimed at developing greater problem-oriented research capabilities in support of educational innovations and studies in the perspective of 'the needs of tomorrow' as an infrastructure for new ideas, paradigms and orientations.

Further information from:

Asian Centre of Educational Innovation for
Development (ACEID)
Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia
and the Pacific
920 Sukhumvit Road
G.P.O. Box 1425
Bangkok, Thailand

. International Institute for Educational Planning (IEP)

The International Institute for Educational Planning (IEP) was established in Paris in 1963 by UNESCO. It is a small institution comprising about 40 staff from 20 nationalities, but it has become over the years the central point of an international network of people concerned with educational planning and administration in both developed and developing countries. The Institute conducts both training programs and research and disseminates information through publications. In June 1983, it published its first Newsletter.

During 1983, the IEP has been completing three major research studies: an analysis of school costs; higher education and employment; education, industrialisation and technical progress. Synthesis reports on each of these will be published in 1984.

Further information from:

International Institute for Educational Planning
7-9 rue Eugene-Delacroix
75116 Paris Telephone: (1) 504,28,22

. Projects of Interest: Index	ISSUE
NATIONAL	
. Australian Association for Adolescent Health (AAAH)	May 1983
. Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science. 53rd ANZAAS Congress, Perth 1983	Feb. 1983
. Australian Education Council Task Force on Youth Policy	Aug. 1982
. Australian Family Research Conference	Aug. 1983
. Bureau of Labour Market Research (BLMR), Department of Industrial Relations	Feb. 1982
. Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace	Nov. 1982
. Commonwealth-State Transition Education Program Schools Transition Conference: 3-5 May 1983	May 1983
. Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS)	Nov. 1981 Apr./Aug. 1982
. Enterprise Australia - Schools and Colleges Program	June 1982
. Industrial Relations Bureau	Feb. 1983
. Institute of Family Studies	Apr. 1982
. International Education Assessment: Proposal on Transition Study	Feb./Apr. 1982
. International Youth Year	Aug. 1982 Aug. 1983
. National Women's Advisory Council	Feb. 1983
. Program of Assistance to Youth Organisations	Nov. 1982
. Schools Commission Working Party on the Education of Girls	June 1982
. Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand: Annual Conference 1983	May 1983
. Teachers as Evaluators Project	Apr. 1982
. TAFE National Centre for Research and Development	Feb. 1982
. Tertiary Education Commission Study: Participation in Higher Education	Nov. 1981
. Women's Bureau, Department of Industrial Relations	June 1982
. Youth Affairs Council of Australia (YACA)	June 1982
A.C.T.	
. Social Justice Project (ANU)	Feb. 1982
. Work Resources Centre (ANU)	Feb. 1982
N.S.W.	
. Drop-In Centre Association of NSW	Aug. 1982
. Flashback Films	Nov. 1982
. Homeless Children's Association: Forest Farm Community	Nov. 1983
. Social Welfare Research Centre, University of NSW	Aug. 1982
. Technology Research Unit	May 1983
. Volunteer Youth Program	Feb. 1983
. Western Sydney Regional Organisation	Nov. 1982
. Worker Co-operative Development Agency	Nov. 1982

QUEENSLAND	ISSUE
. Industry and Commerce Training Commission	May 1983
. Transition Education Resource Unit	Nov. 1982
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	
. Community Improvement Through Youth (CITY)	June 1982
. Service to Youth Council of S.A.	Feb. 1982
. South Australia Council on Technological Change	June 1982
. South Australia Youth Forum	Aug. 1982
. Transition Education Unit	Nov. 1982
. Youth Bureau, Department of Industrial Affairs and Employment	June 1982
TASMANIA	
. Nangaree School, Hobart	June 1982
. Retention and Participation Conference	Nov. 1983
VICTORIA	
. Centre for Education and Research into Environment Strategies (CERES)	Apr. 1982
. Clearinghouse on Migration Issues (CHOMI)	Aug. 1983
. Footscray Home Care Project for Elderly People	Feb. 1983
. Post-Compulsory Review	Nov. 1983
. Victorian Consultative Committee on Social Development	Feb. 1983
. Victorian Government Youth Transition Policy Task Force	Apr. 1982
WESTERN AUSTRALIA	
. Equal Opportunities Resource Centre	Aug. 1982
. Inquiry into Education in W.A.	Aug. 1983
. Rural Youth Movement Council	May 1983
. Youth Affairs Bureau	Aug. 1983
NEW ZEALAND	
. The New Zealand Commission for the Future	Feb/June 1982
UNITED KINGDOM	
. Australian Studies Centre, University of London	May 1983
. Centre for Youth Studies, University of Manchester	Apr. 1982
. National Youth Bureau	Aug. 1982
INTERNATIONAL	
. APEID	Nov. 1983
. International Institute for Educational Planning (IEP)	Nov. 1983

FROM HERE AND THERE

SCHOOL ENROLMENT, RETENTION/PARTICIPATION 1982

Each year, the Department of Education and Youth Affairs releases three papers dealing with school enrolments, retention and participation and school leavers (see 83/AB:29). Two of the 1983 papers were produced in September on enrolments and retention/participation (see 83/AB:110). The following summary of trends is drawn from the Department's News Release accompanying the papers (D51/83).

Enrolments at primary schools throughout Australia are expected to continue to decline until about 1986 after which they will begin to rise again, but will not reach the 1982 levels again until after 1990. On the other hand, secondary enrolments seem likely to continue to rise until about 1986, after which they will begin to decline. When the primary and secondary movements are combined, it appears that total enrolments, after small rises to 1984, are likely to decline to about 1989, after which they should begin to increase.

The likely short-term movements of enrolments from 1982 in government and non-government schools are as follows:

Government

Primary - decline of 42,000 to 1983, then further decline of 46,000 to 1984

Secondary - increase of 26,000 to 1983, then further increase of 23,000 to 1984

Non-Government

Primary - increase of 6,000 to 1983, then further increase of 4,000 to 1984

Secondary - increase of 21,000 to 1983, then further increase of 20,000 to 1984.

The monograph on grade retention and age participation rates shows that the proportion of students staying at school to the final secondary year has risen from 34.8 per cent in 1981 to 36.3 per cent in 1982. Before the small rise experienced in 1981, the proportion had been declining since 1977.

While the female retention rate maintained its steady increases of recent years, it was a rise in the male retention rate for the first time since 1975 that led to the overall increase in 1982. However, the 1982 male rate was still 2.8 percentage points below its 1972 peak and 7 percentage points lower than the 1982 female rate. The male rate increased in both government and non-government sectors, with the government sector increase reversing the trend since 1977. The proportion of students staying at school to the second last and third last years of secondary education continued to increase.

Indications are that school retention to Year 11 (at least) continued to increase in 1983 and are expected to grow further in 1984. Some estimates see the retention rate from Year 10 to Year 11 reaching 90 per cent.

. THE SEX DISCRIMINATION BILL OF 1983

The Office of the Status of Women in the Commonwealth Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet has used its Newsheet (No. 15, September/October 1983) to provide a Guide to the Sex Discrimination Bill 1983. The 24-page booklet details those forms of sex discrimination which become unlawful under the Bill.

The Introduction to the Guide outlines its aim and scope. It identifies the objects of the legislation as being:

- to give effect to certain provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
- to eliminate, so far as is possible, discrimination on the grounds of sex, marital status and pregnancy in certain areas
- to eliminate, so far as is possible, discrimination involving sexual harassment in the workplace and in educational institutions
- to promote recognition and acceptance of the principle of the equality of men and women.

The Bill will, when enacted, make it unlawful to discriminate on the ground of sex, marital status or pregnancy in various areas and people who think they are being discriminated against can make a complaint and have it investigated. The Bill also deals with discrimination involving sexual harassment in employment and education. The aim of this paper is to give a broad outline of:

- what 'discrimination' means in the Bill
- which areas of activity - i.e. employment, education, etc. - are covered by the legislation
- what is 'sexual harassment'
- where and to whose acts the legislation applies
- how complaints will be handled.

EDUCATION WHY? AND HOW?

> Now, what I want is, Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will be of any service to them. This is the principle on which I bring up my own children, and this is the principle on which I bring up these children. Stick to Facts, Sir!
>
> (Charles Dickens -- Hard Times)

THE YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME IN THE U.K.: SOME COMMENTS

The Age (p.20 of 11 October 1983) reported some comments on the Youth Training Scheme in the U.K. by Stuart Maclure, Editor for the last 14 years of the Times Educational Supplement. These paragraphs are taken from The Age Report:

> Starting last month, the Government has established a youth training scheme with pots of money available through the Manpower Services Commission, an arm of the Department of Employment. The scheme was viewed as a permanent change and not simply a temporary response to youth unemployment. It entailed employers taking on three young people for every two who may have been employed anyway. The Government paid the employer £1750 a year and the employer paid the young person £1250 - half to a third of the normal wage.
>
> This, said Mr Maclure, represented a huge reduction in youth expectations but it meant also that most of the teenagers who inevitably would have been on the dole had a job for at least a year. In that time, they would undergo a 13-week, full-time training program at a technical college or school. This would be partly social, partly general education for competence and in part it would be work-oriented. There would also be on-the-job training.
>
> To the extent that the scheme gave employers a lengthy opportunity to assess the performance of young people, it reduced the influence of examination certificates. 'Now employers will have youngsters on "sale or return" for 12 months, during which time they will assess their capacities and their suitability, not in some platonic sense as people or intellects, but as potential employees for specific jobs, and they will pay much less attention to previous exam results than to their own informed judgements', Mr Maclure said.
>
> 'When this happens - in theory at least - the significance of the 16-plus exams for large numbers of pupils should decline, and if this coincided with the arrival of criterion-referenced testing and profiles, it might just conceivably open up the way for radical reform in which an external exam at 16 became a thing of the past'.
>
> The big stumbling block to the effective operation of the youth training scheme was the 25 pounds a week which was being paid to young people in the training scheme, but not to those who remained in the education system. This anomaly could not endure for ever, Mr Maclure said.

* * * * * *

The following comments come from Where to find out more about Education, the information magazine published by the Advisory Centre for Education (ACE) Ltd (18 Victoria Park Square, London E29 PB). 20.191, September 19[illegible]

It is ironic, that at a time when jobs and job prospects are few and far between millions of pounds are spent financing relatively wealthy people to devise training schemes and improved career selection advice for young people. Most experts and ordinary people are of the view that job prospects will be depressed at least to the end of this decade. Yet the Youth Training Scheme is sold on the prospectus that it will provide young people with quality training so they are better able to take on a variety of jobs during their lives; that when the upturn comes there will be the people there to meet the demand. Has there ever been a statement from the MSC which actually admitted that work would be something of a novelty for many people?

A recent report from the Institute of Manpower Studies at Sussex University seems to fall into this optimistic mould. The report, *Training for Skill Ownership*, suggests that people on youth training schemes should have the opportunity to become competent in *real* jobs and be able to deploy and redeploy their competence in unfamiliar circumstances. Flexibility and skill ownership are the keys to better job opportunities for all young people.

Reiterating in more respectable academic language the well-known common-sense adage, 'you shouldn't put all your eggs in one basket', the Institute points out that the existing approach to training — concentrating on training for specific jobs within particular firms as though people were going to spend the rest of their working lives doing the same thing in the same place — is no longer viable either for employers or for the young people themselves.

By themselves these ideas, while not new, have much to commend them. A broader based training, encouraging personal autonomy, would probably enhance job satisfaction, heighten confidence and encourage people to pursue a wider range of interests out of work. However, in the context of rising unemployment, increasing the supply of flexible and skilled people can only *decrease*, in the long term, the number of opportunities open to individuals to use their skill and training in order to secure an improvement in their standard of living.

Perhaps the MSC and the IMS should bear in mind another well-known common-sense view of life: to get on you have to find a niche and try to hang on to it. This is more likely to depend on an element of skill ownership (being able to mend broken limbs, knowledge of the law, being able to repair complicated machinery) than on flexibility.

* ASPECTS

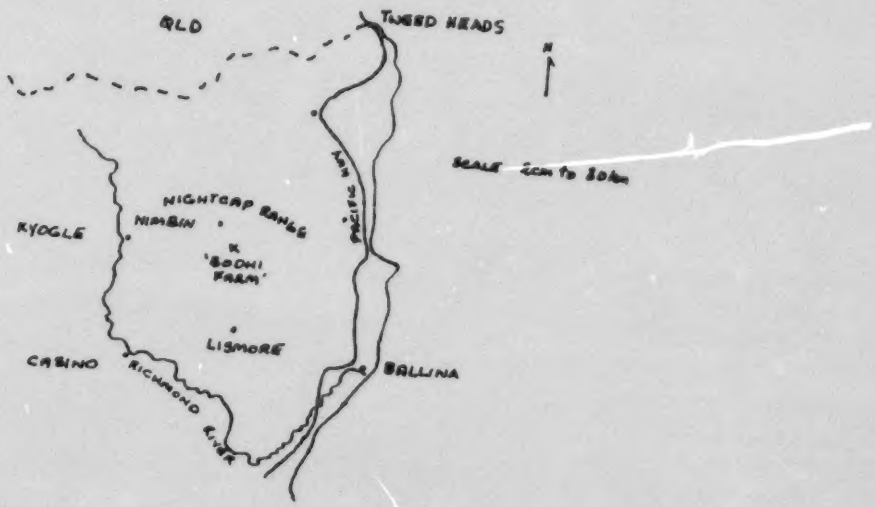
Bodhi Farm: An 'Alternative' Community

by *Mike Robertson**

In the last decade around 7,000 people have entered rural areas in the Richmond and Tweed River Valleys of Northeastern N.S.W. to establish 'alternative' lifestyle communities (Munro, 1982). The influx of such numbers of people with values frequently in stark contrast to those in the established rural community has major implications for transition education, in fact for education generally, but these will not be pursued here. The purpose of this paper is simply to describe one example of this important social phenomenon.

Location

As shown in the sketch map below, Bodhi Farm is situated on the eastern side of the Tuntable Creek Valley, approximately 25km north of Lismore.



* Regional Transition Education Co-ordinator, NSW Department of Education, Lismore, N.S.W.

The Social and Ideological System

The 61.36ha property was purchased by 12 people in 1976, following the building of a meditation centre on adjacent land. The cost was $12,000. It was purchased with the specific aim of establishing a community of people interested in common meditative practices and holding a number of other common values. Additional shares were sold for $1,000, the cost later rising to $1500. Although payment of this entry fee was expected, it was not an absolute condition for entry. Each new application was considered on its merits. It was usually a prerequisite that applicants first be long-term visitors.

Currently there are approximately 25 adults and 10 children resident in the community, as well as several visitors. The community is not accepting further shareholders, believing that present membership is close to psychological and environmental limits, although under multiple occupancy zoning regulations, a population of 61 would be permitted.

The basic family unit is still the nuclear family, as seen in the occupation of separate dwelling segments and in the earning and distribution of income. At the same time there is a very strong sense of community, not only because of common values and interests, but also because of:

- a far more obvious degree of interdependence in daily life than is the case in most communities
- joint involvement in decision-making
- a joint financial commitment
- deliberately developed social practices to foster community involvement.

Most members are fairly young and most children were born in the community. However, they come from quite diverse backgrounds, ranging, for example, from a university lecturer to one member who left school and home at age 13.

The five basic guidelines for the community are collectively and individually to refrain from

- killing living things
- taking what is not freely given
- false speech
- sexual misconduct
- substances which intoxicate and confuse the mind.

These principles are of Buddhist origin, but are interpreted as the community sees fit. Spiritual practices reflect eastern religions mainly but not exclusively and are definitely non-denominational.

Other commonly held values relate to the importance of

- 'voluntary simplicity'; that is, not to value material possessions, to live at a low economic rate. A member on unemployment benefits would have no difficulty surviving on Bodhi Farm
- conservation
- a close-knit community
- self-knowledge, seen, for example, in the common interest in meditation and the value placed on education from pre-school to adult.

This value system, sketchily outlined above, is the whole basis for the community and the activities it undertakes. In some cases the influence is direct and obvious; for example, the first guideline means that there are no domestic animals on the farm and that the community's diet is vegetarian. It also means they are pacifists. 'Voluntary simplicity' means that there is no electricity on the property, though there is a desire also not to become too dependent on 'the establishment'. It also means that not a great deal of significance is placed on the monetary economy and that many members, from time to time, are supported by others.

Political and Legal Systems

Political and legal systems at all levels have had and will continue to have a major influence on the community. Most residents appear to be politically active, in a broad sense; partly by necessity and partly by a desire to act on the basis of their values.

Political action was necessary for survival. Without going into great detail, a long-standing dispute with Lismore City Council, which saw demolition orders placed on all dwellings in the community for four years, finally attracted State Government intervention through an amendment to the 'Lismore City Council Interim Development Order', which legalised and retrospectively regulated this type of community development. Twenty-three properties under Lismore City Council jurisdiction were gazetted under this amendment. Circular 44, N.S.W. Department of Environment and Planning, July 1980, outlines government policy towards multiple occupancy. An aim is expressed in this document 'to support and foster this type of lifestyle'.

The existing legal system still has inadequate provision for dealing with many aspects of Bodhi community life - from building methods to providing for a burial on the farm; and official reaction has ranged from a genuine interest in facilitating the development of alternative social systems to mistrust and antipathy.

The Ecological System

The property is located in the headwaters of the Richmond River system, on steeply sloping land rising from Tuntable Creek almost to the interfluve. Development has occurred along the contours, towards the top of the slope and down a more gently sloping spur. The property was originally cleared 'on spec' about 1950, but never used for dairying (the predominant land use in the area at the time). Because of this, soil erosion is not a problem and regrowth has been occurring for most of the intervening period.

The climate is sub-tropical, suitable for a wide range of fruit and vegetables. Supplementary water is required, especially in spring. Naturally soil cover on slopes of this magnitude is patchy, but it is of volcanic origin and reasonably fertile, except for its acidity. Native fauna is abundant and, in view of guideline No. 1, somewhat of a problem in the vegetable gardens. Snakes are a hazard, but the main potential problem is fire.

In general, the ecological system as such has only a minor influence on the activities carried out by the community. Far more important is the value placed on the native ecological system, leading to a deliberate policy to assist in its regeneration and a willingness to live within the limits it imposes.

The Economic System

Ownership of the property is vested in two members of the community as trustees for the Bodhi Farm Co. Pty Ltd, which in turn holds it in trust for the Bodhi Church, an unincorporated association. The implications of this structure appear to be as follows:

- the company limits individual liability in the event of financial difficulties
- the unincorporated association means much less stringent accounting requirements
- there are theoretical tax benefits, but the community pays rates anyway and community income is well below the threshold for company tax.

The ownership extends to all structures on the property, even individual dwelling segments, built by individuals.

All income is initially private income earned by individuals or family units. Sources of private income include:

- Two members work part-time and are shareholders of 'Fundamental Foods', a financially successful health food store in Lismore. It is also an important source of cheap bulk food for the community
- Two members operate 'Effortless Trading', primarily a mail order business dealing with imported silk, incense, massage oils and the like. The business also operates stalls at the regular market days throughout the district
- Two members are self-employed potters
- Several members undertake seasonal work on wheat and grape harvests. Apparently Bodhi Farm has developed an excellent reputation for reliable work in these areas
- Other members work intermittently at activities ranging from carpentry to pre-school teaching
- Two members receive single parent benefits and one or two receive unemployment benefits.

It would appear that 'government subsidisation' of the community is minimal and that ample income is generated for successful operation of the community.

Communal income is derived from payments by individuals as follows:

- Food Account, $10 per week. No attempt has been made to become self-sufficient with respect to food. Major purchases in this account are grains, flour, milk, some fruit and vegetables, either out of season or not suited to the environment
- General account, $12 per week. Chief purchases here include fuel, road maintenance, seed, fertilizer, etc., other tools and materials for community projects
- Car fund and phone, for and by individual use.

The monetary system is simple and effective. What is perhaps not so clear-cut is the relative allocation of time and effort to individual income earning activities on the one hand, and community activities on the other. There are no set community rules about this. It is a matter frequently discussed and the current average is about 2 days a week on community activities.

Aspects of Community Work

The main on-farm activities that are communal rather than individual are:

- subsistence agriculture
- maintenance of roads, vehicles, machinery, etc.
- specific projects; e.g. the new community centre
- management of day-to-day communal activities; e.g. the midday meal, child care and education
- organisation and conduct of cultural, recreational and other social and spiritual activities.

On-farm activities generally lie outside the monetary system. Farm produce is not sold, except occasionally to support social activities. Work on the property does not lead to remuneration. However, the farm is productive in that it provides from 50-100 per cent of the community's fruit and vegetable requirements, depending on seasonal conditions, and much of its fuel requirements (from windfall timber and solar energy). A barter system operates for both on-farm activities and trading with neighbours, with respect to goods and labour.

As will already have been appreciated, there is no aim toward economic self-sufficiency or isolation, or any other form of isolationism for that matter. The community is totally dependent on vehicular transport and is dependent on the outside economy for this reason alone.

In the management of work, the decision-making process goes much further than democracy. However, there is a fairly high degree of specialisation of labour, and co-ordinators are appointed for most on-farm activities. These co-ordinators fulfil some of the functions of management. Some activities require co-ordination of members with different skills, continuity of supply of raw materials, prediction and solving of problems and so on. However it would be forcing the analogy with the industrial relations system of a more conventional enterprise too far to suggest that there is any real distinction between labour and management within the community.

Decision-making is conducted through a range of meetings: the annual general meeting, bi-weekly meetings and less formal meetings each lunchtime. In addition, any individual can call a meeting at any time for any reason, business or personal. Decision-making is by consensus; that is, the absence of dissent. Any individuals not in total agreement may abstain from voting, or if in total disagreement may apply a veto; however, this has never happened.

Conclusions

The Bodhi Farm Community is achieving its aims admirably. It is a successful partial alternative to modern industrial society. It is suggested that students should be brought into contact with these sorts of alternatives through Career Education programs. Bodhi Farm does accept visits by students, but cannot afford to do so on a large scale. It is certainly intended to arrange a visit by local Careers Advisers.

Finally, no conclusion should be drawn about the nature of the 'alternative lifestyle movement' generally from this case study.

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. Permanent Part-time Work: An Employer Viewpoint

by *Alan Jones*

The notion of 'permanent part-time work' challenges many traditional and entrenched values and attitudes in modern Australian society. These values and attitudes have grown up over a long period of sustained economic growth, relatively low inflation and full or even over-full employment. Substantially this was a period of optimism and general economic stability; this was a period which saw a concerted effort to populate the country with an extensive immigration program and increasing efforts to entice a greater proportion of women back into the workforce. In this period, two-income families became commonplace and the range of consumer durables expanded rapidly in response to increased purchasing power.

Arguably all this could have continued long into the future but for the destabilising effects of the international oil crises of the 1970s, coupled with our own domestic economic problems, including the drought. This is no place to analyse the failure of Australian economic policy at the time, nor its contribution to the worsening economic position here. All that need be recognised is that these factors, coupled with exorbitant increases in wages and other labour costs in the mid-1970s, undermined the fundamental optimism of the past and dealt what some thought to be a fatal blow to the underlying bulwark of continuous economic growth. Certainly, low levels of inflation and unemployment became almost instant casualties of the economic and commercial turmoil which this period produced.

In the result, Australia has managed to 'lead' the developed world with an adverse combination of patchy investment, little growth, double

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digit inflation and unemployment and spiralling increases in labour costs. With competitiveness on import and export markets falling dramatically, many jobs were lost forever to foreign manufacturers. It is likely that many of the more than 100,000 jobs lost in the metal trades industry alone will never return. If the lost orders themselves are ever to be regained it might only be on the basis that improved productivity, made possible by mechanisation and new technology, has offset the present disadvantages of high labour costs, long and costly international transport and a miniscule home market which does little to promote economies of scale.

It is against this background that calls for the introduction of 'permanent part-time work' have surfaced. In this context, the word 'permanent' conveys the idea of work which is organised to suit the needs of employers and employees alike, without being tied to the inflexible notion that the only acceptable configuration of working hours is the 40-hour or 38-hour week, accompanied by tight controls over the times at which these hours may be worked without the added burden of overtime penalty rates; in other words, a situation where fewer hours can be offered by an employer and worked by an employee for a straight proportion of the full-time weekly rate of pay.

Part-time work defined in this way is not new. What is new is the extent of the competitive disadvantage under which Australian industry now labours. That disadvantage dictates the need for wide-ranging changes in attitudes and work practices to improve productivity, regain old markets or secure new ones and provide a better foundation for secure job opportunities of all kinds.

The growing demand for part-time work by employers and employees is amply demonstrated by the figures. In July, 1983, approximately 1.075 million[1] Australians were employed part-time, representing 17.1 per cent of the total Australian workforce of 6,284 million[2] persons. In August 1966, the proportion of part-time employment to total employment was 9.8 per cent. Over this period, there has been a phenomenal growth in part-time employment of just under 75 per cent. In addition, during August 1983, 79,000[3] unemployed Australians were seeking part-time employment.

While there may be many reasons for this growth in the proportion of part-time employment, two factors alluded to earlier appear to stand out. Firstly, there has been an increased demand by industry for greater flexibility in its workforce in the tougher economic times. Secondly, a change in the structure of the workforce has resulted in increasing demands, from within the workforce, for greater variety in working arrangements.

There is also the change in attitudes to the participation of women in the workforce, particularly married women. The antidiluvian preconception of 'a woman's place in the home' has become increasingly obsolete in modern western society, characterised by continuous economic growth, and full or over-full employment. In this era it became widely accepted that women have as much right to participate in the workforce as men. The preconception of the 'male breadwinner' declined further. The availability of part-time work has allowed many women the opportunity of pursuing the necessity or desire to raise a family while still contributing significantly to household income, security or improvement. At the same time, it has also made available a sector of flexible labour to meet an obvious demand. However, it should be noted that the range of occupations for which part-time work has traditionally been available is quite narrow.

Despite the fact that an increasing proportion of the workforce is engaged in part-time employment, in the main the Australian trade union movement maintains a suspicion of, and in many cases open and vigorous opposition to, the concept. This is reflected in the small number of both Federal and State awards which contain provisions relating to part-time work. Many trade union officials hold the view that part-time employment is a threat to existing full-time jobs, and they see part-time employment as having the potential to lead to the loss of supposedly hard-won working conditions and as a barrier to the achievement of further gains.

It should be appreciated that part-time workers are much more difficult for unions to organise than are full-time workers. Thus, a movement towards an increasing proportion of the workforce being employed part-time means a potential loss of membership for unions.

The 1983 ACTU Congress discussed the issue of part-time employment and agreed upon the following Policy Decision:

> Congress believes that the basic principles which should underlie the operation of part-time work are:
>
> FIRST: Part-time work should not be created at the expense of full-time jobs. The priority of trade unions must be the protection and preservation of full-time employment opportunities.
>
> SECOND: Part-time work is not and must not be used as a means of reducing unemployment. Its introduction is not a substitute for effective economic policies. Clearly the creation of unemployment, which can be associated with part-time work, is to be avoided.
>
> THIRD: Any change of work hours or mode should be introduced only after consultation and agreement with unions. In this regard, unions negotiating part-time provisions should consult with other unions who have members who may be affected.
>
> FOURTH: Part-time work should attract full pro-rata entitlements and in appropriate industries and circumstances carry a loading, and be based on the demands of workers for a more flexible working life.
>
> FIFTH: Part-time work should not substitute for a genuine reduction in standard working time.
>
> Congress calls upon the ACTU to:
>
> - intervene in support of any union which is threatened by the extension of part-time work
> - promote employment policies which give a priority to full-time employment
> - in co-operation with State Branches encourage a united approach to dealing with the issue of part-time work by activating campaigns of information and action in line with ACTU Policy.[4]

During the past eighteen months Australia has experienced its worst economic downturn since the 1930s. There have been large numbers of retrenchments,

the unemployment rate jumped by over 3 percentage points, and profits in the private sector have been squeezed dramatically. While there are some tentative indications that the decline may have 'bottomed out', there are still no distinct indications that a sustained recovery is on the way.

Notwithstanding the expressed opposition of many unions, and the Policy Decision of the ACTU Congress detailed above, industry has reacted to the current recession in many instances by turning to part-time or short-time work as the safer option to retrenchments in the face of declining sales. In late 1982, an application was made to the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission for the insertion of part-time work provisions into the Federal Vehicle Industry - Repair, Services and Retail - Award, 1980. The award at the time made provision for only full-time and casual employees. The application was heard by a Full Bench of the Commission (Williams and Cohen JJ., and Paine C.) and was opposed by various unions respondent to the award.

In support of their application, employers in the relevant industry contended that they had long seen the need for the award to permit part-time work on a weekly hired basis. However, the main ground of support was that:

> In order to cope with the present depressed state of the industry due to economic factors, high unemployment levels and the present drought, employers require the option of part-time work as an alternative to retrenchments.[5]

Following extensive inspections, evidence and submissions, the Commission handed down its decision in April this year, granting part-time work in the award, but on a more limited basis than that sought by the employers. Dealing with the historical or traditional basis of part-time work provisions in awards, the Commission noted that, in the past, they had been designed essentially to alleviate labour shortages in industry by 'providing for the entry into the workforce of persons who were not able to work full-time'.[6] However, the application in this case was supported on entirely different grounds. The Commission also noted that no decisions of the Commission, providing for part-time work 'as an alternative to reducing the size of the its labour force by retrenching labour or not filling vacancies'[7] has been brought to the Bench's attention during the case. The Commission concluded by saying:

> Some relief should, in our view, be provided in the short term. In the absence of any particular provisions in the award the position has been largely met to date by retrenching staff, in some cases by reducing over-award payments and in others by working shorter hours despite the terms of the award.[8]

The Commission decided to vary the award to allow for the hours of full-time employees to be reduced to not less than 32 per week (instead of 40) where there is agreement between the employer and the individual employees to do so. However, annual leave and sick leave still accrue on the basis that a 40 hour week has been worked. However, the Commission endorsed the need for some relief. What it provided was not a wide-ranging system of part-time work but rather the working of short-time to relieve a crisis situation.

What should be understood, however, is that the need for more flexible working patterns, including part-time work, is just as great when viewed against the long-term problems of productive efficiency and international competitiveness. In the immediate economic crisis many industries have turned to short-time work without resort to industrial tribunals. Many individual employers and their workers have entered into agreements under which the workers accept reduced wages and work reduced hours. The arrangements may even be in breach of the relevant award, but those involved understand that an attempt is being made to save jobs and share out what work remains. Such agreements have been reached and are continuing in many areas, including the metal trades, clothing, textile, footwear and rubber industries.

In a paper presented to the Newcastle Branch of the Industrial Relations Society of N.S.W., Mr Justice Ludeke of the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission summed up the position in these terms:

> There is a very real dilemma here for unions and employers. The employer runs the risk of these surreptitious agreements coming to grief in circumstances where he may be liable to pay very large amounts of money, while the union cannot be seen to be officially associated with negotiations leading to such arrangements; very few union officials are prepared to take the risk of being accused of breaking down award conditions or conniving at lower wage rates for their members, but to resist the proposal usually means that people will lose their jobs.[9]

Undoubtedly, such agreements have caused difficulty for all parties involved, but as an alternative to the wholesale sackings which may otherwise have occurred had the agreements not been reached, they have considerable merit.

In summary, the benefits of part-time work to industry are greater flexibility and also the provision of an additional source of labour where full-time workers are not available. Some industries, through part-time work, can restructure ordinary working hours, including those of full-time workers, in response to variations in their particular market and the economic conditions prevailing at any given time. This facility will be even more vital in the future than it is now. On the other hand, the attitude of the union movement to part-time work is unacceptably restrictive in virtually all circumstances. It must come to the understanding that part-time work can be an adjunct to full-time employment and not merely a substitute for it.

Internationally, the trend towards a greater proportion of the workforce being employed part-time has paralleled that of Australia. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, of which Australia is a member, met in Paris in 1982 to discuss alternative working arrangements, particularly in relation to part-time work and shift work.[10] Doubts were expressed by some members of the Organisation about the feasibility of further growth in the part-time work sector of several of the participating countries. Three main arguments were given which tended to question the usefulness or the desirability of part-time working arrangements. First, it was pointed out that the major use of part-time working could only occur in those sectors where production scheduling was amenable to division among different workers within the same job. It was simply not feasible, or prohibitively costly, to introduce part-time working in other sectors given the

prevailing working practices. Secondly, it was suggested that while part-time work was often popular among individual workers, this popularity was not shared by trade unions. One major reason for union resistance to part-time work was the fact that it tended to undermine their efforts towards attaining general work-week reductions for their members working full-time. Thirdly, it was questioned whether part-time work had any significant impact on reducing the current levels of unemployment. A growth in the supply of part-time jobs, it was argued, tended to increase the demand for this form of work from members of the community not currently in the economically active working population.

The discussion was by no means completely negative concerning changes in part-time work. Several experts pointed out that where employers had experience with part-time work, it either proved to be reasonably popular or, at least, not particularly disadvantageous, compared with full-time working. On the cost side, it was admitted that part-time workers were more costly to employ than equivalent full-time workers. Per unit administration costs for part-timers were often higher and, besides, the management control was often more expensive in time. On the other hand, it was found that productivity of working hours was higher under part-time working arrangements. The net effect of costs and benefits was either relatively neutral or positive in favour of part-time work.

Ultimately there is an obligation on Australian business to investigate the attitudes and information concerning part-time work. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development contains amongst it membership all of Australia's major trading partners, and essential to Australia's international competitiveness and survival is the need for labour costs to be reduced to the absolute minimum. Any advantage held by Australia's major trading partners must be met by greater productivity and reduced unit-labour costs, which may be brought about by the expansion and/or development of part-time work

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* BOOK REVIEWS

. ANDERSON, D.S. and C. BLAKERS (eds.) Youth, Transition and Social Research. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1983 [204p.: $10.95] (Abstract forthcoming, February 1984)

by *David Ashton**

Most of the essays in this volume were originally presented to a seminar held in 1980. It had a number of objectives but three of them remain of continuing significance. These are:

- to lay a foundation for subsequent work towards achieving some common approaches to definitions, concepts, categories and methods
- to identify areas where research is needed
- to stimulate consideration of the place of research in policy and action.

In all these areas the papers represent an impressive achievement. With regard to the first, Don Anderson in Chapter 9 raises a number of conceptual issues that are of fundamental importance to anyone working in this area. He points to the fact that young people are involved in not one, but a number of transitions; physiological, political, legal, as well as economic and social. In the past, work has been almost exclusively concerned with the transition from school to work and the significance of the other transitions in the life of young people remains largely unexplored. This is particularly true with regard to women for whom the salience of these various transitions may be very different from that of men. Thus, from the point of view of many young working class females the transition to marriage and child rearing may be of much greater significance than the transition to work. What should also be added is the point that such transitions are not always in the same direction. There is a tendency in our thinking to see the transition in a linear manner, to see the movement from home, to school, to work, as sequential and inevitable. This, of course, may be the case in some instances, such as that involved in the transition from juvenile to adult, but in other cases the outcome is much less certain, as is the direction in which movement takes place. For example, a young male may move from school to work, to unemployment and then back to college; a situation which, as the paper by Edmund King implies, may become much more frequent as the educational systems adapt to the variety of changes that are taking place in the economies of the advanced industrial societies.

Don Anderson also points to the dangers of theoretical assumptions determining the outcome of research, a situation that has already occurred in work which has sought, and inevitably found, a continuity in the movement between school and work. The same charge is laid against sociological studies of low achievers, which tend to adopt a theoretical perspective that inevitably produces recommendations focusing on compensatory measures. Like

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most of the issues he raises, this is equally applicable to studies of the transition conducted in other industrial societies. It is one that has been highlighted in the U.K. by ethnographic research from both Marxist and interactionist's perspectives which leads to radical different interpretations of the behaviour of 'the disadvantaged' and in the subsequent policy recommendations.

Another way of laying foundations for further work is through the development of interdisciplinary research. This is advocated by Colin Power in his paper on 'Research Approaches and Methods'. Bruce Biddle makes a similar plea for social scientists to integrate positivist and critical models of social research, to produce what he calls an integrated view, in which the visions of both positivist and critical theorists are assembled to produce an expanded view of the social sciences. This is a more pragmatic approach which accepts the existence of several models for research, each of which may be appropriate for the attainment of different objectives. However, given the difficulties sociologists have experienced in developing such a unified theoretical framework there is little wonder that interdisciplinary research frequently fragments, as Don Anderson notes, into multidisciplinary projects. This disappointing outcome is not inevitable. One reason why past efforts have not always been successful is precisely because the representatives of the various disciplines bring with them different assumptions derived from their various conceptual frameworks. The result has been a tendency for them to talk past each other rather than to each other. This situaiton can be avoided if representatives of the different disciplines are prepared to critically examine the assumptions embodied in their conceptual frameworks. Once the inherent weaknesses of each perspective are appreciated then there is no reason why, by either entering into a dialogue with each other, or undertaking joint research, these positions could not be refined and adapted to produce a more adequate understanding of the transition process than is at present available from any one discipline.

Several of the papers in this collection provide an ideal first step in this direction. Ken McKinnon provides an educational policy maker's perspective on policy and research, examining the reasons for the lack of impact of research on policy and suggesting ways in which future research can be of help to policy makers. Gerald Burke examines some of the assumptions embodied in the neo-classical economists' analysis of teenage unemployment. Keith Taylor provides a comprehensive review of the work of psychologists on aspects of the transition, while Patricia Pak-Poy provides a critical examination of transition policy from the standpoint of a practitioner. Each provides valuable insights into the different perspectives, laying the foundations on which work of a more integrative nature can be based. For example, Keith Taylor's contribution from a psychological perspective stresses the importance of individual decision-making in the transition from school to work. Sociological analyses, in contrast, stress the structural constraints placed by early socialisation and the availability, or non-availability, of various types of work, on the decisions and actions of individuals seeking entry to the labour market. A more adequate approach would incorporate the insights from both perspectives.

One problem area where considerable advances have already been made is in the understanding of youth unemployment. The papers by Peter Karmel, Richard Sweet and Gerald Burke, complement each other in many respects and provide an impressive overview of the problem. While illustrating the complexity of the problem, when taken together they point to the increasing importance of a series of structural changes in producing high levels of

youth unemployment in Australia. Peter Karmel questions the validity of cyclical explanations and examines the impact of changes in technology, demography and the labour market on the demand for youth labour. Richard Sweet takes this further, arguing that during the last decade we have witnessed a decline in the opportunities for young people in full-time white collar, clerical and unskilled occupations, the traditional entry jobs for youth, and a growth in opportunities in dead-end, unskilled, part-time work. This theme of the changing occupational structure and its effect on young people is developed by Gerald Burke who examines it in a context of changes in the supply of labour to the youth market. These three papers provide substantial evidence for the view that we are witnessing a structural change in the labour market that is having a series of adverse consequences for young people, threatening to create an under-class of low achievers.

The implications of these and other changes in the labour market for education are debated in a number of the papers. Edmund King's analysis implies that any reduction in the demand for youth labour will have particularly severe consequences in societies such as Australia and the United Kingdom because of the 'underdeveloped' natures of their educational systems. By contrast, the more advanced American and Japanese systems which absorb a high proportion of young people until they are in their late teens and early twenties, cushion the impact of such economic changes on the demand for youth labour. However, the main thrust of Edmund King's argument is that we are witnessing a series of radical changes in the economy, which means that there can no longer be any assurance of lifelong or full-time employment for all. The effect of this will be to make the outcome of the transition from school uncertain and totally disrupt the traditional relationship between school and work. He argues that as the educational system has to re-adapt to cater for an increasing proportion of young people who will stay within it until their late teens, and for an increasing number of adults who will be returning to it in the course of their lifetime, then the traditional academic curriculum will no longer be relevant in a time of rapid change. A similar point is made by Richard Sweet.

With regard to the second aim, that of identifying areas where further research is needed, the collection is rich in ideas. As a number of papers testify, of the three areas of home, school and work, there has been far more research carried out into the school aspect than into the other two areas - a situation that is disturbing in view of findings which indicate that for some young people, such as the low achievers, the school has less influence in moulding their behaviour than either the home or the labour market. To rectify this, and produce a more comprehensive understanding of the transition, Colin Power argues persuasively for the greater use of longitudinal analysis. As a research strategy this would certainly help in the process of evaluating the strengths of the various influences at work on the behaviour of young people. Moreover, if conducted in conjunction with more detailed interactionist or interpretive studies, as advocated by Power, it could yield invaluable insights into the young person's perspective on the transition. This is an important dimension of the problem which is largely absent from this volume.

The case for studies of policy formation is made out by Ken McKinnon. This is an area where one would expect research to flourish in the near future. Given that unemployment is creating a gap between the expectation of youth and the realities of the labour market, and that the present

institutional arrangements for the socialisation for each generation are increasingly brought into question, then it is a matter of some urgency that social scientists examine the way in which the state has attempted to step in and bridge the gap with transition programs. If we are to produce a critical appraisal of these programs then it is vital that the processes leading to the formation of policies, and the part played by vested interests in them, are analysed. It is also important that social scientists monitor and evaluate their implementation and it is in this contect that Stephen Kemmis argues there is a vital part to be played by action research.

The other area where research is needed is in the field of labour market studies. Most of the work referred to in the volume is based on that done by economists whose assumptions are largely based on the premise of the 'rational economic man'. Here, I would add a personal plea for more broadly based studies to examine the part played by employers' recruitment policies in segmenting the labour market and determining the pattern of access for young people. This is an area of enquiry which Osterman has found fruitful in the U.S. and which we have started to pursue in the U.K. It is also an area where the work of institutional economists and sociologists has started to converge.

It is in meeting the third of the objectives, namely in exploring the relationship between research and policy, that I found this volume particularly valuable. The most forthright statement of a view that is held by a number of contributors is made by Don Anderson and Cath Blakers. They argue that the traditional approach, in which one's theory specifies the problem, which is then tackled by rigorous scientific methods, producing results or 'facts' which tell the policy makers what should or should not be done, is totally inadequate. For them, the nature of research is such that it cannot provide a comprehensive set of objective facts from which policy is constructed. Its role is restricted to informing policy development and aiding its implementation. While I would endorse this critique of the traditional approach to the problem, their position does tend to absolve the social scientist from any responsibility to act in the political sphere, leaving policy decisions as the exclusive preserve of the party politician. A review such as this is not the place to enter into a detailed debate about the validity of the distinction between 'facts' and 'values' around which this controversy is centred, but I would argue that the position adopted by Don Anderson and Cath Blakers does tend to underestimate the parts to be played by the social sciences in policy formulation.

Their discussion is primarily restricted to a critical examination of the implications of specific research findings for social policy, an area where findings have had little direct impact. However, research results have another function, for the feedback from them also contributes toward the development of our theoretical knowledge. Through this, they improve our understanding of how society and its various institutions operate and this process can also have important implications for social policy. For example, J.M. Keynes utilised research findings to develop a more adequate understanding of the way in which the economy functioned. When first publisned his general theory represented a major advance in our understanding of the workings of the economies of advanced industrial societies, one that had radical implications for the kind of economic policies subsequently pursued. Thus, while the results of individual research projects cannot usually be used to formulate particular policies, this does not end the social scientists' responsibility. If existing policies are at variance

with our understanding of the nature of social reality, then it is our duty to operate through the democratic process to inform the public. This is also the implication of Gerald Burke's incisive critique of the neo-classical approach to the analysis of teenage unemployment. Given that a substantial part of the available evidence is incompatible with the neo-classical position, he sees it incumbent upon the social scientist to produce a more adequate explanation that will lead to more effective policy measures.

It is difficult in a relatively short review to do justice to this collection of papers. I have addressed only a few of the ideas that they contain and even then in a somewhat cursory manner. For all those working in the field of transition studies, both in Australia and elsewhere, they represent a rich and varied source of ideas and raise problems of a fundamental nature that will be the concern of social scientists for the next decade.

* * * * *

* PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION

A NEW SERIES

Participation in education is generally thought to be a A GOOD THING. But it is a term, like many others, which allows a wide range of interpretations: from the passive to the active. Thus, participation in schooling or education generally may, at one extreme, be assessed in terms of a physical presence in a classroom or course or institution. Age Participation Rate tables, giving the numbers of young people of a particular age attending school in a particular year are an example of this concept of participation. On the other hand, the concept can be extended to embrace an active sharing as partners or collaborators in the decision-making and other processes of schooling.

This active participation, in turn, can be conceived in a variety of ways and as involving different groups of people. In some concepts, it is the sharing in the decision-making and other processes of schooling by those who are 'participating' in the physical sense; that is, by the students themselves. This kind of participation can be seen working in various schools and various programs within schools and has been particularly a feature of many Alternative Programs funded in recent years under the Commonwealth School-to-Work Transition Program.

A further extension of this kind of participation involves, to a greater or lesser degree, the collaboration also of groups of people outside the school itself: parents, the general community, employers, trade unions. Some of these groups - particularly parents and community - already have participative roles: at the school level, in school councils/boards such as those in Victoria, South Australia and the ACT, as well as in other day-to-day activities in the schools and classrooms; at central levels, in policy-making bodies such as the Education Commission of NSW, the State Board of Victoria, the ACT Schools Authority. Employers and trade unions have similar participative roles in TAFE institutions and have been developing their participation in some school programs, particularly work experience.

As can be seen from the summaries of the Schools Commission and TAFE Council reports which follow, all of these concepts of participation are or can be embraced in the Participation and Equity Program. The term, participation, therefore raises a number of fundamental questions which need to be identified and answered if policies to increase participation in education are to be clearly interpreted and effectively implemented. Among these questions are:

- Who participates: in the physical sense and in the active senses?
- Why?
- For what purposes?
- In what institutions or other forms of education?
- When and over what periods?
- In what processes?

. With what support/guidance/control?

. With what criteria for and means of evaluation or assessment?

In this series of articles, which we hope to continue throughout 1984, the Clearinghouse will provide a forum for exploration of some of the issues involved in 'participation in education'. We begin with summaries of two important reports and an outline of a third, each of which provides a context within which policies of participation will be worked out. These reports are:

. AUSTRALIA. COMMONWEALTH SCHOOLS COMMISSION

Participation and Equity in Australian Schools: The Goal of Full Secondary Education. Canberra: Commonwealth Schools Commission, November 1983 [mimeo: 51p.]

. AUSTRALIA. TECHNICAL AND FURTHER EDUCATION COUNCIL

Report to the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission on the Participation and Equity Program. Canberra: CTEC, October 1983 [mimeo: 23p.]

. AUSTRALIA. COMMONWEALTH DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND YOUTH AFFAIRS

Youth Policies, Programs and Issues. An Australian Background Paper prepared for the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. Canberra: DEYA, October 1983 [290p.]

The Reports by the Schools Commission and the TAFE Council have been prepared for the Minister for Education. They are tabled in Parliament and publicly released along with the Minister's considered response to the proposals they contain. Program Guidelines will then be prepared by the two Commissions. These summaries have been prepared by the Clearinghouse as an aid to wide dissemination of information about the Participation and Equity Program.

. AUSTRALIA. COMMONWEALTH SCHOOLS COMMISSION

Participation and Equity in Australian Schools: The Goal of Full Secondary Education. Canberra: Commonwealth Schools Commission, November 1983 [mimeo: 51p.]

A SUMMARY

On 28 July 1983, the Minister for Education and Youth Affairs, Senator the Honourable Susan Ryan, issued the Government's Policy and Program Guidelines for 1984 to the Commonwealth Schools Commission. These Guidelines contained a statement of the broad objectives and dimensions of a new Commonwealth program for schools: the Participation and Equity Program. The Guidelines stated:

> The program will make funds available to the States and non-government schools to stimulate broadly based changes in secondary education including:
>
> - catering at all stages more adequately for the needs of the full range of students
> - making changes to secondary schools organisation to accommodate more adequately the social, economic and cultural diversity of students, and to promote self-confidence, independence and a sense of autonomy in all students
> - reforming and diversifying the curriculum
> - reviewing credentialling and assessment arrangements, including provision for accreditation of work experience
> - changing and developing teacher attitudes and skills
> - improving the relationship between schools and the community, and community attitudes to education. (para.1)

The Schools Commission has, over the years, argued consistently in its Reports and in Schooling for 15 and 16 Year Olds (Annotated Bibliography A10, Abstract A7) that schooling should provide for all children a satisfying and enjoyable education experience, valuable in its own right but also providing a broad and sound basis for participation in adult life. To do this, schooling must be responsive in its approaches and structures to changing education, social and economic circumstances.

In its Recommendations for 1984, the Commission emphasised that the reform and development of secondary education in Australia is a complex, long-term and expensive task. The Participation and Equity Program (PEP) sets out to further this development by building constructively on initiatives already being undertaken in the States.

The Guidelines set out two principal objectives of the Participation and Equity Program:

. to reduce significantly the numbers of students leaving school

before the end of the secondary school course

- to foster equal educational outcomes.

Towards achieving these objectives, the PEP will provide funds:

- to systems to stimulate broadly-based changes which will increase the value of schooling for all students
- to particular schools to increase participation by groups now under-represented in the final years of secondary schooling and thus in the full range of post-school educational and employment options.

This paper sets out what the Commission sees as necessary steps for 1984 and beyond to lay the foundation for a policy of full participation and greater equity. The PEP is concerned with secondary schooling; but it recognises that the foundations of successful participation in secondary education and beyond are laid in the primary school. As a corollary also, increased secondary participation requires expansion in access to tertiary and other post-secondary and further education. Thus PEP cannot be considered in isolation from the rest of schooling and education generally.

Chapter 1 of the paper reviews some of the initiatives and activities already under way in Australian schooling. At the State level these include efforts to diversify the secondary school curriculum; to devise assessment and accreditation procedures which allow students a wider range of options; to change the structures and organisation of schools; to develop more co-operative and collaborative relationships between schools and TAFE. Progress has been made in many of these areas, but in each major difficulties have also been encountered and persist.

Similar qualifications have to be made about the Commonwealth School to Work Transition Program. This Program has evolved into a valuable working model for educational change in the direction of more flexible programs and approaches. Its limitations have been that it has had little impact on 'mainstream' courses and the students in them, and the courses developed under the Program have lacked status within their schools.

With its broader approach and building on the base of thinking and activity of the last few years, PEP will, as a first essential step, seek to encourage schools to examine their curricula with a view to providing for cultural and social diversity in ways which do not legitimise existing inequalities. In accordance with these intentions,

> the Commission expects that by the end of 1984 systems and authorities will have made the necessary arrangements for former Transition Program activities to be fully integrated into the Participation and Equity Program. They should plan on the assumption that funds will not be available in 1985 from Participation and Equity Program sources to retain separate Transition Program units or personnel. (para.1.13)

Chapter 2 distinguishes between participation (the involvement of people in formal education) and retention (the number and proportion of students remaining at school to the last and second last year of secondary schooling). It points out some of the limitations of using retention rates

which, by their nature, take no account of factors such as transfers between schools or repeated years. The Chapter goes on to discuss and provide tabular information about retention rates, indicating:

- differences between types of schools
- differences between States
- differences between sexes
- rising retention rates since 1981.

Chapter 3 discusses the concepts and implications of 'participation' and 'equity' pointing out that a rise in participation means a stronger commitment in schools to learning by the whole age group. This, in turn, requires that schools respond to the different ways in which young people learn. The Chapter goes on to list the characteristics of schools which are already charting the directions of change and serving broad and diverse student populations. In various ways these schools combine many or all of the following features:

- They are schools where time has been set aside to consider clear goals and educational strategies for achieving them
- Major educational policy decisions are made by the staff as a whole, with the Principal and senior staff an integral part of the process; the role of the Principal as an educational leader is vital
- Developments in school policy and curriculum are carefully planned in collaboration with parents and students and this process is maintained through strong communication channels within the school community
- Students are treated with respect and have considerable responsibility in the running of the school
- The intellectual capacity of every student is challenged in ways which enable each to achieve the best of which he or she is capable. (para.3.24)

The implications of developing these characteristics in schools are discussed in some detail in terms of curriculum; assessment and accreditation; decision-making; school organisation and processes; students with special needs. This discussion is extended in Chapter 4 and some of the barriers to achievement of PEP objectives are considered along with the measures necessary to overcome them, especially for disadvantaged groups.

Chapter 5 identifies major areas for action under the Program, dealing with each separately but emphasising that they are inter-dependent. The Commission is recommending that the Program should initially support projects and activities in the following areas:

Curriculum: aiming to improve and adapt existing content and methods for a much broader range of students, and to support the collaborative development of new programs and courses where appropriate.

Assessment, Accreditation and Credentialling: developing more diverse and useful credentialling procedures and measures of student achievement which have the confidence of students, parents, employers and tertiary institutions and which enable schools to offer programs suitable for a broad range of students through to the end of secondary education, and to increase access to under-represented groups.

Teacher/Student/Parent Interaction: supporting shared decision-making between the direct partners in schooling whose commitment is vital to the Program's success.

Teacher Renewal and Support: improving induction into the profession, fostering new approaches to professional development, staff selection, examining alternatives to existing forms of teacher promotion.

School Structure and Organisation: providing for flexibility in the forms of teaching and learning in schools; and supporting new approaches to the use of time in schools in ways which allow for curriculum adaptation and diversification consistent with the needs of all students.

Post-School Links: developing close working relationships between schools, TAFE and other tertiary institutions in order to provide a full range of learning opportunities for all students and to improve access to higher education.

Groups with Specific Needs: taking special measures to meet the needs of groups such as girls, Aborigines, students from non-English speaking backgrounds who have been under-represented in secondary education, and those with learning difficulties.

Public Support for Education: increasing community awareness of, and support for, the value and purposes of secondary education/training for all. (para.5.2)

Each of these areas is amplified in the discussion and examples given of the kinds of action and projects which, taken in these areas, could contribute to the objectives of increasing participation and equity.

Chapter 6 deals with the operation of the Program. For the first triennium, 1984-86, the emphasis will be

- first, on schools and groups of schools in areas where socio-economic circumstances such as high unemployment indicate the need for special effort to encourage retention and meet the needs of students
- second, on the support of system level programs and services to assist, encourage and facilitate action and initiatives in schools in the directions envisaged in the Program.

The Commission expects that, in 1984, 75 per cent of the funds will be allocated to schools or groups of schools co-operating in a project. The criteria for identifying such schools will be

- the socio-economic circumstances of the populations they serve
- school retention/participation rates
- the concentration of particular communities of students from groups such as ethnic minorities, Aborigines, young people without family support, the disabled.

The Commission believes that the target group of schools in 1984 should not exceed about 40 per cent of all secondary schools in a system in order to ensure that limited funds are not too thinly dispersed. The amount proposed for a full high school of 800-1000 in 1984 could be in the range of $45,000-$55,000.

The Program, by building up networks of liaison and consultation among schools and between schools and other institutions, aims to encourage 'co-operative action between schools at all levels, including the sharing and rational use of resources, ideas, expertise and available additional funds. It will also be an effective means of removing some of the barriers that exist between primary and secondary schools, TAFE, and tertiary institutions in some States' (para.6.8)

On arrangements for allocation of funds, the Commission suggests that all schools identified as falling within the target group should be so advised, and then given the opportunity to plan and develop proposals focussing specifically on the problems and difficulties which led to their inclusion in the Program. (para.6.15)

As soon as schools have been advised of their entitlement under the Program, the Commission expects State Committees to make arrangements for informing school communities of the objectives and principles, and to provide assistance through field officers and consultants in the development of proposals. Wherever possible, meetings should be organised on an area basis to assist in the development of school clusters. (para.6.17)

Where groups of schools are co-operating in developing joint plans for action (e.g. teacher development, curriculum planning, flexible staffing, formal links between school and TAFE programs), the proposals for funding should be based on the requirements of the whole project and not necessarily on a school by school basis. Such a group could include a school not on the target list, but able to contribute expertise, special facilities or skills to the group, as well as deriving benefit from participating in it. It could also involve feeder primary schools, perhaps in the development of K-12 programs or approaches. The Commission acknowledges that for some systems, using networks of co-operating schools in this way may pose some administrative difficulties. It suggests that for such systems, pilot schemes be introduced in 1984. (para.6.18)

The Commission in its Report for 1984 recommended the creation of new earmarked elements within the Capital Grants Program for both government and non-government schools. In 1984, $12,147m will be made available for the provision of secondary facilities in government schools and $4.048m in non-government schools. (para.6.23)

These funds will initially be directed to the targeted schools. They are not intended to provide basic facilities but rather additional facilities which will enhance and enrich the school experience for students.

The administrative arrangements detailed in Chapter 7 are those already indicated in the July Guidelines.

. A Commonwealth Co-ordinating Committee.

This should be established as soon as possible, chaired by the Department of Education and Youth Affairs and involving also the two Education Commissions and the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations. This Committee will provide consistency and co-ordination and will oversee general directions, specific Program goals, accountability and evaluation.

. State Participation and Equity Program Committees: Government Schools

These joint Commonwealth-State Committees should have the following responsibilities:

- to consider guidelines for the Program in the light of local needs and circumstances and to plan Program implementation in accordance with these.
- to engage the necessary personnel, such as field officers and consultants, for the effective development and organisation of the system-wide Program
- to identify target schools
- To consider ways for system level support to be provided to help effect widespread reform
- to consult closely with State English as a Second Language and Disadvantaged Schools Programs
- to consult as necessary with clusters of schools and with relevant interest groups
- to monitor and evaluate the outcomes of Participation and Equity Program projects and activities in individual schools and clusters of schools.

In addition, the Commission believes it would be appropriate for State Education Departments and non-government authorities to consult Committees in relation to expenditure to be made on the secondary facilities element of the Capital Grants Program (as set out in 6.23-6.27). (para.7.5)

Given the objectives outlined for the Program by the Government and the agenda for action identified by the Commission, it is essential that the Committees have representation from as broad a range of organisations as possible, including State and Commonwealth Departments and the two Commissions concerned. The Commission believes that as far as practicable these Committees should have equal representation of male and female members. (para.7.6)

The Commission will undertake early consultation with Government education authorities on the detailed administrative arrangements to be followed in regard to the submission and approval of programs. (para.7.7)

. State Participation and Equity Program Committees: Non-Government Schools

These Committees will be appointed by the Commonwealth Minister. The Commission believes that their composition should be similar in principle to that of the Government School Committees.

. Schools Commission Participation and Equity Committee

To assist it in developing the Program for 1984, the Commission will establish a committee drawn from the Commission itself and the Curriculum Development Centre, supplemented by experienced practitioners, administrators and scholars. It envisages a total membership of eight or nine people. This committee will provide the Commission with advice on aspects of the implementation and development of the Program, assist with consultations, and advise on Projects of National Significance. (para.7.11)

PARTICIPATION AND EQUITY PROGRAM - SCHOOLS ALLOCATIONS 1984
(Estimated December 1983 prices)

State	Government	Non-government
	$	$
New South Wales	13,623,000	1,513,000
Victoria	10,399,000	1,508,000
Queensland	6,727,000	723,000
South Australia	3,788,000	301,000
Western Australia	3,829,000	357,000
Tasmania	1,283,000	100,000
Northern Territory	394,000	21,000
Sub-total	40,043,000	4,523,000
Australian Capital Territory	573,000	110,000
National Allocation	501,000	19,000
TOTAL	41,117,000	4,652,000

. AUSTRALIA. TECHNICAL AND FURTHER EDUCATION COUNCIL

Report to the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission on the Participation and Equity Program. Canberra: CTEC, October 1984 [mimeo: 23p.]

A Summary

This paper has been prepared by the Technical and Further Education Council of the Commission in response to Part (b) of the Guidelines of July 1983 which was directed to TAFE involvement in the Participation and Equity Program (PEP). In its Advice for 1984 on the Participation and Equity Program in TAFE, the Council supported the decision to extend age eligibility for participation in the program to persons in the 20-24 age-group but noted that the additional $2.2 million would not allow for any worthwhile extension of access for 20-24 year-olds without a reduction in the opportunities currently available for the 15-19 year-old group. Without detracting from the needs of the schools sector the Council is concerned that as the major provider in existing programs, TAFE has received only a minor increase in funding. (para.1.3)

Section 2 discusses the objectives of the Participation and Equity Program. These are:

- increasing participation in education
- introducing greater equity in the overall provision for young people. (para.2.1)

For TAFE, the Program implies increased participation in TAFE 'by young people whose experiences of schooling are likely to alienate them from formal education'. The concern for equity supports the continuing emphasis of TAFE on disadvantaged groups, including long-term unemployed young people. Access to the full range of TAFE programs by disadvantaged groups, however, is likely to require substantial additional resources (para.2.2). Under the Transition Program, the demand for places on TAFE courses has far exceeded supply.

For 1984, the Council believes that the Government's aims will be advanced by the continuation and refinement of current activities. Increasing attention should be given to the encouragement of students to progress from PEP courses to other areas of mainstream TAFE which might further assist their development as individuals and offer better employment prospects. (para.2.4)

PEP has a number of implications for TAFE. The Program should stimulate a reassessment of TAFE regular courses against PEP objectives. Council would also wish to extend its consultations and address in later reports such issues as:

- the relationship of PEP to 'mainstream' TAFE courses (e.g. will credits be offered to those who successfully complete PEP courses?)
- the need for curricula suited to PEP objectives
- the need for appropriate staff development

- the demands on facilities and equipment
- the needs of full-time students in relation to counselling, recreational facilities, library services, etc.
- the relationship between courses, work experience and employment. (para.2.7)

Section 3 provides a background to the Program, outlining some of the circumstances which form the context for the Program: rising unemployment; the expectation that TAFE should expand its offering of full-time education and training; the decline in training opportunities in industry; increasing participation of women in the workforce; growing recognition of the needs of disadvantaged groups. The section outlines TAFE initiatives under the Commonwealth School to Work Transition Program and the development of relationships with the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES). Courses offered by TAFE have been of the following broad types:

- pre-apprenticeship
- pre-vocational (trade based)
- pre-employment (non trade based) or basic work skills
- literacy and vocational (including job-seeking) skills; largely under the Education Program for Unemployed Youth (EPUY). (para.3.4)

Transition courses in TAFE have generally lasted between 13 and 36 weeks and catered for a wide range of vocational interests, aptitudes and abilities. (para.3.5). The section goes on to provide estimates of numbers of courses and students involved in transition and to outline the initiatives taken in different States.

The paper notes that students undertaking PEP in TAFE will be a small proportion of the total number of 15-24 year olds assisted in Commonwealth training programs. In 1982-83, 101,900 young people were assisted in programs such as the Special Youth Employment Training Program, whilst it is estimated that only 15,500 will participate in Commonwealth-funded transition courses in 1983. (para.3.16)

In the light of this and of the total numbers of unemployed 15-19 year olds, 'it is clear that Commonwealth-funded TAFE Transition courses are reaching only a small proportion of these youth. The proportion will be further decreased with eligibility in the Program being extended to 20-24 year olds'. (para.3.17)

Section 4 discusses allowances for students and the role of the CES. Transition Allowances (equivalent to Unemployment Benefit plus $6 per week) have been integral to access to Transition Programs. About 80 per cent of students enrolled have received these allowances, the median duration of unemployment for these young people being eight months (para. 4.3). The CES has had the responsibility of selecting participants from among the unemployed young people registered with them.

For 1984, the Council would like to see the CES retain a substantial involvement in the identification and selection of students, noting that TAFE institutions, as the providers, must equally retain a prominent role especially on questions of student suitability for various courses. (para. 4.5)

The future priority to be given to the unemployed and the role of the CES will be considered further by the Council as PEP develops. The degree of involvement of CES could obviously be affected by a change away from unemployment as an important qualification for entry to courses. A closely related issue is whether, for the majority of students in these courses, the principal system of support continues to be an unemployment-based benefit. If Government is concerned to encourage young people to proceed from PEP courses to further mainstream studies in TAFE and higher education, a solution is needed to the discouragement inherent in the present schemes of allowances. (para.4.6).

Furthermore, the value of courses should not be assessed on numbers of participants who are employed but on their long-term benefit to students. This point is emphasised also by the recent evaluation of TAFE programs by Davis and Woodburne (para.3.18; see also Abstract 83/C:90).

The developing liaison between the schools and TAFE is discussed in Section 5, making the point that such co-operation, adapted to local needs and circumstances, can be extended as part of PEP. Link courses are an example of co-operation between schools and TAFE, many of them providing for young people with special disadvantage. These courses, where provided in TAFE for school students, should be funded by the schools on a 'user pays' basis. Such reimbursement could help to extend TAFE provisions for 20-24 year olds.

Section 6 deals with Co-ordination and Administrative Arrangements. These involve a Co-ordinating Committee and Joint Commonwealth/State Committees, as detailed in the preceding summary of the Schools Commission paper, Chapter 6. In addition to the suggestions already conveyed to the States by the Minister concerning membership of the Joint Committees, the Council considers that their membership should include equal representation at State level from schools and TAFE, as well as representation from the CSC and the TAFE Council of the CTEC. The Council assumes that the reference in the Guidelines to membership of the Joint Committees by Labour departments includes both Commonwealth and State departments (para.6.4).

The Minister has agreed that for 1984, the following arrangements for program approval will apply:

- State may put forward proposals which continue to develop Transition Program activities and are consistent with PEP objectives
- State TAFE programs should be cleared by the Joint Commonwealth/State Committees, which will consider schools and TAFE proposals concurrently for co-ordination purposes
- TAFE Council will approve detailed TAFE programs. (para.6.6)

The TAFE Council wishes to receive submissions for 1984 from the States no later than the end of November, including, so far as possible, the following details:

- the types of courses and developmental activities to be undertaken
- the number of courses of each type

- their location within the State
- planned numbers of students, including estimates of the breakup of students by sex, age group etc.
- the cost of courses by category and of developmental activities with breakup by purpose and function, including professional and other salaries
- administrative and other costs. (para.6.7)

For 1985, Council wishes to receive preliminary State plans by the end of April 1984 so that they can be reviewed in the Government's normal Guidelines processes. Detailed State plans based on the Guidelines would be sought by the Council no later than November. (para.6.8)

The Council will give further consideration to the form in which submissions for 1985 should be presented after consultations with the States based on experience for 1984. (para.6.9)

In Section 8, the Council stresses the need for adequate data collection; particularly on courses, student participants and the destinations of participants.

Section 9 discusses proposals from the States for 1984, indicating that the States have provided outlines of programs which include courses in the following groups:

- EPUY/Access Courses
- Work Skills/Pre-employment Programs
- Special Group Programs
- Pre-vocational Courses
- LINK Programs. (para.9.2)

These are all consistent with the objectives of PEP. Further proposals received are for search conferences, experimental projects such as the employment of counsellors for youth not involved in education or work, plans for negotiations with industries on access to training facilities and courses for identified disadvantaged groups. (para.9.3)

The Council also wants to ensure that there is an appropriate balance between teaching activities and developmental activities. Thus, a complete State program might encompass, in addition to course provision:

- curriculum development
- staff development
- consultative activities
- counselling
- evaluation and assessment
- public relations activities. (para.9.4)

Beyond 1984, the Council is convinced that if PEP, as it applies to TAFE, is to develop from its present limited framework, decisions by governments on a broad integrated youth policy, including income support,

are of the greatest importance. The Council is concerned to ensure that what are already becoming structural changes in TAFE should be developed within a coherent policy framework.

Section 10, discussing the allocation of funds, indicates that $26.9 million has been given to TAFE for use under the Program in 1984 (para.10.1). The funds are being distributed as follows, on the basis of 'equal weighting to numbers of 15-24 year old unemployed in each State/Territory' (para.10.4):

DISTRIBUTION OF TAFE PEP FUNDS FOR 1984
($m, est. December 1982 cost levels)

State	$m
New South Wales	9.133
Victoria	6.592
Queensland	4.083
South Australia	2.759
Western Australia	2.324
Tasmania	1.117
Northern Territory	0.266
Australian Capital Territory	0.501
Unallocated	0.125
TOTAL	26.900

. AUSTRALIA. COMMONWEALTH DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND YOUTH AFFAIRS

Youth Policies, Programs and Issues. An Australian Background Paper prepared for the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. Canberra: DEYA, October 1983 [290p.]

An Outline

This comprehensive review of policies, programs and issues affecting young people will be included in the Abstracts in 1984. In this Newsletter, an outline only is given of the scope of the report which was prepared as a background briefing document for the OECD team visiting Australia in November 1983 (see Newsletter, August 1983, p.40).

Chapter 1 is intended to describe the social and economic changes which form the context within which policies for young people are being developed. It points out the multicultural nature of Australian society; changing family patterns and social relationships; technological change and its impact on industrial structures and patterns. It provides an overview of the attitudes and views of young people on a variety of topics and educational and social issues, and concludes with a brief account of new directions and policies in government.

Chapter 2, dealing with formal education, describes first the administrative and financial framework of education in Australia, policy developments and objectives. It provides detailed information on retention and participation in secondary education and the social differences associated with this, with school achievement and with access to higher education. It delineates important issues to be addressed as those affecting structures and concepts of education; curriculum reform; the interface between employment and education; access to higher education, and recurrent education.

Chapter 3 analyses the labour force experience of young people, indicating the discrepancies and gaps in the statistical information available. It outlines recent developments in labour markets and in youth labour markets: levels of participation in the workforce; patterns of full- and part-time employment; changing and declining employment opportunities; levels and duration of unemployment and of hidden unemployment. It discusses the demand and supply factors behind the changing patterns, and draws out of all this detailed analysis the issues and questions which will affect future prospects.

Chapter 4 is a comprehensive overview of employment and training policies and programs in Australia. Beginning with a historical outline of labour force policies and programs, it describes programs to develop the quantity and quality of skills (apprenticeship and trade training, etc.), programs providing greater access and equity to employment and training for disadvantaged groups (such as employment subsidies, job creation, community based programs); the Commonwealth Employment Service. For each of these areas, the Chapter identifies and discusses the issues arising and the final section draws these issues and questions together.

The final Chapter 5 describes clearly and in detail all the relevant

Commonwealth income support policies and programs and discusses the issues inherent in these. It notes that responsibility for allowances of various kinds lies mainly with the three Commonwealth Departments of Social Security, Education and Youth Affairs and Employment and Industrial Relations. It provides information on outlays and numbers involved, and goes on to describe the major programs; TEAS; Secondary Allowances Scheme (SAS); Transition and pre-apprenticeship allowances. Discussing the issues, the Chapter indicates the complexity of the income support structure and raises the equity considerations which are inherent in differing levels and conditions of allowances. The concluding section makes some proposals for change in the direction of a more coherent and less complex system of allowances for young people.

Each chapter provides references and a considerable detail of statistical information in the form of tables, graphs and, in the case of Chapter 5, tabulated descriptions of program allowances and the conditions attaching to them. A synopsis of the whole report is given for the convenience of readers at the front of the volume.

Altogether, this Report provides what is possibly the most comprehensive and detailed overview yet produced of Australian policies and practices across the interdependent sectors of education, training and employment as these relate particularly to young people. When it becomes publicly available in the near future, it can be expected to become a basic resource and reference document.

* LOOKING AT OTHER COUNTRIES, NO. 4: JAPAN

. SCHOOL TO WORK TRANSITION IN JAPAN: RECENT WRITING

by *Frank G. Hicks**

In countries like Australia, the USA and UK where economic recession is characterised by rates of unemployment amongst young people which are higher than those for adults, the issue of the transition from school to work has become a widely-recognised social problem. Youth unemployment has both social and personal ill-effects: in the first case, reducing the potential for future economic productivity; in the second, leading to psychological demoralisation in young people forced for longer and longer periods into a state of dependency on family, friends or welfare. All industrialised societies confront the problem of selecting, allocating and re-allocating people to a workforce in which not only is there a wide range of tasks and required performances, but, in recent times particularly, there exist rapid changes in the form of both the economic and social division of labour. Systems of mass education function not only to transmit the combination of knowledge and skills which form the basis for such selection, but these systems also respond (and contribute in their own way) to ideologies which justify and emphasise in different ways selection by merit or latent capacity; selection by competition or sponsorship; early or later selection; early identification or gradual and diverse emergence of talent, skills or ability.

In Japan, however, the relationship of the education system with the society and with work is both complex and unique, and it is no accident that in the post-war period of first expansion and then recession, there have not been high rates of unemployment among young people. This can be seen in the following statistics. If we examine employment in terms of opening/applicant ratios, then for under-19 year olds the ratio of 2.5 was the same as it had been in 1964 (the peak figure of 5.1 came in 1970). For young adults (20-24) the peak figure of 1.3 occurred in 1970 and the low of 0.7 in 1960. Above age 50, the ratios were decidedly inferior to those of all younger groups and almost always showed more applicants than jobs. With respect to unemployment rates, those for teenagers (normally very low) touched 6.8 per cent for males in both 1978 and 1981. The 20-24 year old unemployment rate never exceeded 3.8 per cent. Umetani comments that 'among females, the teenage and adult rates grew strongly, but presumably withdrawal from the labour force restrained the advance'; however the figures probably reflect a 'longer duration of job search by youth than a higher incidence of joblessness' and furthermore 'among youth, job-changers are more likely than new entrants to experience unemployment'.[10]

The emphasis on employing young people is a systematic one which is linked to Japanese styles of recruitment, evaluation and socialisation of 'core' or regular employees, more especially in the largest and publicly visible private enterprises. It is these large companies which evolved what is known as nenkô, or the lifetime-employment system. Despite the fact that 'lifetime' employment is popularly overemphasised and therefore misconstrued (especially outside of Japan) it is nevertheless an influential

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conception of work and career which has functions both in workplaces where it is manifestly absent and in the education system where it displays itself in ideologies of achievement, selection and evaluation. These points will be developed later in the paper.

In the following material the Japanese education system will be briefly described, then discussed: first, in terms of its articulation with the world of work as an economic production system; second, in terms of the occupation system representing an arena of social stratification with the associated issues of status transmission and social mobility, and finally there will be a discussion of issues of social change, especially as these reflect an ageing population, and changing attitudes of and towards women.

Education System

Even prior to the Meiji Revolution, but certainly in the years following 1868, education was a highly valued activity. Before the turn of the century the literacy rate of the population was already very high (about 90 per cent). On the one hand, the education system was used to transmit various moral values (the emphasis changed considerably from time to time), particularly through the centralised control or supervision of the content and production of school textbooks. On the other hand, associated with this emphasis on personal conformity with prevailing forms of collective moral solidarity was the functioning of the education system as a means of selecting, sorting and allocating people into a rapidly industrialising division of labour.

With the American occupation after the Second World War came the introduction of what came to be known as the 6-3-3-4 system, with six years of primary schooling, three years each of junior and senior high school and four years of tertiary training. Currently 94 per cent of young people participate in formal education to the end of senior high school and over 30 per cent continue into tertiary education. The entrance rate for universities (4-year) and junior colleges (2-year) showed a slight decline from a high of 38.6 per cent in 1976 to 37.4 per cent in 1980.[10] The authors of the 1981 White Paper on Youth link this to changes in perceptions of their future by young people. Irrespective of sex, more high school students intend to enter the recently developed specialised schools (Senshu Gakko) or miscellaneous schools (Kakushu Gakko). These latter schools are part of a system introduced in 1976 specifically 'to serve as an organ to offer diversified and pragmatic technical training in accordance with each student's desire and capability'.[7] One commentator designated the school system as the 6-3-x-3-x-4 with the x standing for an indeterminate number of occasions on which students repeated competitive entrance examinations to a highly stratified education system.

The education system, especially in the later years of high school and despite recent attempts at change (such as the 'specialised' and 'miscellaneous' schools), nevertheless retains a series of curriculum tracks which have the effect of streaming students by choice of school. Bowman et al. argue that '"comprehensive upper secondary schooling", whatever one means by this, has not been the Japanese pattern over the past three decades: on the contrary the post-war system of upper-secondary schools and curricula retains the sharp distinctions among types of courses that characterised

pre-war and secondary-level education: the academic (and non-academic) general course, technical courses, commerce, agriculture, and (for girls) domestic arts' (p.10).[1]

However both schools and universities can additionally be classified in terms of whether they are privately or publicly organised. All educational institutions are informally but very clearly ranked in a status hierarchy (usually according to the degree of difficulty of entrance examinations), with the publicly funded national universities such as Tokyo, belonging to an 'Ivy League' elite which has no peer in Australia. Not only do the national universities, for example, have lower fees and greater prestige, they are recognised conduits for graduating students to employment within government departments or the law (in the case of University of Tokyo), or industry and journalism (in the case of Waseda, one of the highly regarded private universities). The Economic Planning Agency reported that in 1980 72 per cent of universities and colleges (attended mainly by males), 84 per cent of junior colleges (attended mainly by females) and 24 per cent of high schools were private institutions (7-5).[10]

The fierce competition for entry is mediated by a formal examination system and has given rise to a network of private cramming schools and students called rōnin (named for the masterless samurai of the Tokugawa period), who aim to improve their chances of selection into high status schools, colleges and universities by making repeated attempts at entrance tests. The rōnin phenomena is such a well recognised part of a system described as 'examination hell' that fluctuations in the rate are used as indicators of the relationship between coveted first jobs and numbers of applicants. In 1975, 33 per cent of new university students and 10 per cent of new junior college students were high school graduates of earlier years (7-7).[10] [citing Ministry of Education].

An important sorting effect in senior high schools results from the structure of the curriculum. In 1980 the proportion of students graduating from vocational curricula who gained entrance to colleges and universities ranged from 9 to 11 per cent whilst comparable figures for graduates from academic and special preparatory courses ranged from 42 to 63 per cent (7-7).[10] Within the higher education system itself there exists strong differentiation by sex; enrolments in junior colleges were over 90 per cent female by 1979, but females represented only 21 per cent of university enrolments in the same year.[10]

As has been mentioned, the transition from school or education to work in Japan is not marked by high unemployment rates. The young people most at risk of unemployment are job-changers. At the junior high school level in particular the Public Employment Security Office (PESO) is the prime agency of vocational guidance and placement. Senior high schools and many colleges and universities share these duties with PESO, whilst approximately a third of the senior high schools and most colleges and universities conduct a free placement service in agreement with the Ministry of Labour. Formal rules about training and procedure for recruitment exist. However, teachers involved in career guidance in schools are generally 'unprofessionalised' in as much as they move through the positions quickly and have no specialised training. The information they disseminate is more about educational options (how to 'work the system') or specific business firms than about the concept of occupational and personal career development. This reflects very clearly a peculiarly Japanese conception of the world of work where great prestige and status derive not so much from the character of one's occupation and the income which goes with it, as from the firm or

agency with which one is connected and the status one holds within that affiliational in-group.

Over the past two or three decades the Japanese education system has shown steadily increasing participation rates at levels beyond the age of compulsory schooling. However there is no common agreement that this trend reflects a workforce which is more effectively educated. On the contrary, economists and others debating within a framework of human capital formation, allege an 'over investment' in education. At the same time, data gathered on the level and type of first job as well as the range of first jobs of school and college graduates indicate, for example, that the proportion of Japanese college graduates who are in professional, technical or related work is around one-third compared with a half in the US. Inoki speaks of 'the declining tendency to enter white-collar occupations among college graduates' and asks 'Is it the case that the school diploma does not work as a filter in discerning the quality of workers any longer, since the variance of the quality of workers has been widening due to the spread of higher education?'[3] There is some objective evidence then that, regardless of popular complaints about the quality of teachers, students and curricula, prolonged education is nowadays less likely to result in the achievement of a high status and comparatively well-paid job. In other words, the 'holding power' of the Japanese education system requires some explanation which is at least in addition to and separate from assumptions about the quality of education.

Iwata[4] argues that a Japanese emphasis on ability as a latent potential rather than a level of skill attained provides a link for understanding both Japanese management practices and the emphasis in education on a series of entrance examinations. If ability is seen as an undifferentiated potential or the presence of latent power then an employment structure which selects workers for a lifetime career in the one large organisation will favour an education system which provides some indication of potential. The system of entrance examinations provides a 'monolithic criterion' for employing agencies. Unfortunately, one effect is for this monolithic evaluation of ability to be also taken as a measure of an individual's personal worth. Consequently, the striving focuses on test results achieved, with the result that successful students then 'rest on their laurels' and unsuccessful ones queue as rōnin or aim at less difficult tests which bring associated losses in self-esteem. Iwata suggests that the concentration on tests and their relative difficulty diverts attention from critically evaluating the quality of teaching and research within universities and colleges after the initial selection of students has taken place. Bowman refers to a misallocation of resources which creates greater pressures in a period of constraint:

> The intensively competitive examination system in Japan unquestionably motivates youth to work hard - even desperately and sometimes destructively hard - in the hope of doing well on tests. Presumably there is considerable learning in this process, though how much it contributes to thinking and to personal development is not so clear - a problem recognised in the plans for reforming the General B schools to which we referred earlier. Finally, with or without a year more as a rōnin, a young man gains entry to a university of greater or lesser prestige. By now he already knows fairly well what his chances will be when he has spent four years recovering from his examination ordeal and perhaps learning a little along the way. The misallocation

> of resources in this system must be immense, whether we think in terms of development of capabilities for productive and rewarding careers or of enrichment over the fuller spectrum of the students' future lives (p.305-6).

Education and Work Ideologies

Stereotyped notions of 'lifetime employment' and on-the-job training need to be put into context in order to create an understanding of the complexity of the Japanese occupational and employment structure. In speaking of lifetime employment a key distinction needs to be made between the employing procedures of large firms (over 1,000 employees is the measurement convention) and small companies. It is the larger companies which can afford to differentiate their own internal labour markets into a mainstream of regular employees and a supporting workforce which may be casual, part-time or post-official retirement, but which is employed under conditions which saves on holiday and severance pay and which permits layoffs in times of contraction.[3] It is positions in the large companies and organisations which are highly valued in the community and towards which the cream of the educational competition is funnelled. The stereotype suggests that entrepreneurial loyalty is rewarded with 'in-house' training; an age-seniority wage structure peaking at retirement age; wage bonuses; non-cash fringe benefits (including goods and services such as housing), and a variable payment at or after retirement (which is mandatory at between 55-60 years of age).*

This model functions optimally in periods of steady economic expansion, when there is a large supply of inexperienced (though not 'un-educated') youth and employment stability. The fact is that at any time a significant part of the Japanese labour market does not fit this pattern. Smaller companies may aspire to this model but they frequently hire 'half-way' workers when new graduates are unavailable. These employers offer lower wage rates and can provide less job security. Young employees show higher rates of movement between jobs if they start work in this sector. As Umetani and Reubens comment:

> Recent developments, especially since the oil crisis of 1973, have limited the coverage and viability of the 'lifetime' employment system. Among these are the change from a high to a stable growth rate, the ageing of the workforce, and the rising average educational attainment of cohorts entering the labour force. Over a longer period, higher turnover rates and the advance in the wages of youths relative to adults have been deterrents. An increasing number

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* Retirement in Japan does not generally mean complete withdrawal from working for an income. Eligibility for the Japanese Public Pension Scheme does not occur until age 60, but in 1981 more than half the firms with mandatory retirement systems set the retirement age lower than 60 years. High rates of youth employment are a phenomenon connected with employment rates elsewhere in the labour force.[3]

> of firms, modifying their basic policies of manpower development and personnel management, are eliminating general skills from internal training, excluding the unskilled workforce from internal training and organisational skills, and reducing the number of employees in the internal labour market. Simultaneously, the system is being weakened by the increased importance workers attach to home and leisure as living standards improve.[10]

Educational Choices, Careers and Mobility

Members of families in Japan (as elsewhere) form views of the occupational structure as well as of the ideologies of work that surround it and the educational system which links it with the family and provides a framework of ladders and escalators to careers deemed successful in terms of status as well as income. As long-term economic trends unfold, there is a complex interaction between people's plans and expectations and mechanisms such as education through which these are effected. In the period of steady or rapid economic expansion up until 1973, the transition from school to work had its characteristic context. In comparing patterns of occupational change through time with the educational decisions of male students (and their fathers' attitudes to these), Bowman et al.[1] have provided a background against which contemporary attitudes to the link between education and work can be evaluated.

Bowman makes the point that, at the same time as maintaining a dynamic economy, the prevailing view in Japan as to what constitutes a 'suitable job' has always been flexible in a way that has meant that government has never been under pressure to assure better educated people of 'appropriate' places. However, effects of the pressure to achieve can be seen in increased educational participation rates and public debate over school curricula, in screening by examination and in the restructuring of university funding.

Iwata[4] argues for a direct and negative impact of the ideology of 'lifetime employment' on education. He stresses first of all the extent to which occupational status in Japan is derived from the sense of belonging to one's organisation as an 'in-group' rather than from any prestige attaching to the occupation or profession and its income. (Retiring employees of the Hitachi company have asked that their names remain on the work roster - at least until the daughter's wedding date.) Large private firms thus carry immense public prestige. Given their internal labour markets of 'core' or regular employees supplemented with peripheral or part-time employees, these companies have the prime task of selecting a core labour force which must at one and the same time be both productive and co-operative. Since long-term employment is guaranteed there is no hiring-firing pattern, so that there has developed the annual intake with an extremely strong emphasis on hiring new graduates. Having no special skills, training or experience, the new workers are selected as 'labour power in the abstract' on the criteria of attitude, character and latent ability as indicated by their record of achievement in tests. Subsequent patterns of promotion and task rotation exploit a competitiveness based on awareness of small status differentials but make it difficult to reward specific skills or abilities with preferential treat-

ment. The impact on college and university education, it is argued, has been to over-emphasise the functions of selection and classification based on processes which encourage students, teachers and employers to equate test performance with personal worth. The costs of such emphasis are in the discouragement of innovative teaching and research and of achievement ranging across specific skills and tasks (passim).[4]

Using age-earning profiles, Bowman et al.[1] make the point that earning paths in Japan are influenced by a person's sex and education, by whether his/her income is derived from entrepreneurial activity or is wage/salary based, and in the latter case, by whether the employer is a large or small firm. In the past three decades, the early clear gap between commencing and concluding incomes for salary earners in large as compared with small firms has narrowed and become more complex. Nevertheless, the earning paths for men in large firms remain steeper than for men in smaller firms and these curves are certainly less steep for women regardless of the size of their employing agency. These authors also identify the process whereby large employers aim at creaming off high achievers (especially males), then winning their commitment and allegiance by offering incentives both to perform flexibly and to commit themselves to an entire career within the same organisation. In recent years in-house training programs have been cut back (see above, Umetani and Reubens) though the effect of this on patterns of educational choice is not at present discernible.

Bowman et al. base their discussion of career outlooks and educational choice on a large sample of fathers and sons drawn in 1966-67, with supplementary data gathered in 1976-77. Given that the entrance examination system is the means by which students are allocated to various curriculum streams, these researchers analysed choice patterns (and their associated rationales) and found that father's occupation was strongly implicated in the sort of education and career choice made by sons. The sons of professionals, managers and salary-earners characteristically chose university-entrance curricula, anticipating high earning-profiles as a result (though with less sanguine views than their fathers about the life-time employment system). Sons of business families not surprisingly expected greater rates of earnings over time than did sons of wage and salary earners. If the family business is a large one, the son is likely to attend a higher institution (usually a private one); if it is moderately successful, investment in higher education may be judged not worth the costs in time and money. It is sons of agriculturalists and those who enter both commerce-course streams and technical curricula who are most likely to change and raise their educational aspirations during the period of their school studies.

Bowman's conclusions are supported by the comparative analysis of social stratification and social mobility in Japan and Australia in which Jones[5] examined data drawn from the period of the mid-1950s and 1960s. In general terms, Jones found that the extent to which father's occupation 'predicted' son's occupation was quite low in both countries (6 per cent in Australia and 13 per cent in Japan); but that, although the influence of education was strong, its precise shape and role were probably different in each case. The influence of father's job and family background on son's education is strong in Japan although 'the effect of educational attainment on career beginnings and career mobility is less in Japan than in Australia'. Jones points to the elite segments of the Japanese education system (for which there is no Australian equivalent) noting that it functions not only for status-achievement but also for status-confirmation.

However, the Japanese data for that period, in showing such a very strong link between first and present jobs 'strongly support observations on the importance of seniority as a principle of career progression and the strength of the lifetime employment system'. Although both societies reward effort and achievement, 'the meritocratic principle is less pervasive in Japan than in Australia'.

Understanding the move from education to work in Japan requires an understanding of work ideologies and the education system itself. In recent times the increased government subsidisation of private universities and the increase in tuition costs at national universities have had some impact on redistributing the queues of students pressing for entrance to the most attractive channels into the workforce. However, the slowing down of economic growth has highlighted the particular vulnerabilities of women and the aged in a rapidly ageing workforce.

In very schematic terms, it seems that at present in Japan there are structural connections between education and work which result in only a very small proportion of the youthful workforce being unemployed. This holds despite high turnover rates for young people employed in small enterprises and despite apparently quite high levels of dissatisfaction amongst these young people, not only when they are in the workforce but even before this as they are channelled through an education system which is devoted more to grading, classifying and allocating than it is to 'drawing out' or educating. However, the large proportion of young people actually staying in the education system has now coincided with a population of older people which, as an aggregate, is 'ageing' very rapidly. The proportion of 'old' people in Japan apparently will require only 30 years to increase from 5 to 10 per cent, whereas the population of the United States requires 45 years and that of France and Sweden up to a century. Thus in the immediate future the trend is for a smaller proportion of the total population to be called upon to support an increasing proportion of young people staying in education and an increasing proportion of older people leaving the workforce.

In the light of these trends, it is worthwhile examining the part played by women both in and out of the workforce. The streaming of the education system is strongly influenced by the sex of students. Few boys enter the domestic science stream; and junior colleges, in contrast with universities, frequently present courses of two years duration which have a female enrolment up to 90 per cent (the proportion of females attending university rose from 13.7 per cent in 1960 to 21.2 per cent in 1979) (7-7).[1] Although young female college graduates gain employment easily it is much more difficult for any females to enter the 'core' or regular workforce especially of large companies.

Females are excluded from jobs that require training and are crowded into jobs needing less training, since females are not expected to work for as long as males.[9]

Sano, in analysing hiring standards for males and females, concludes that strength and health are equally stressed for both sexes. However, among the other important 'latent' characteristics of general ability, personality, motivation and co-operativeness, it is general ability that is stressed for females, and even for female job changers, career and skills are less emphasised than general ability and personality.[9] Once women decide to marry, it is assumed (as much by them as by their

employers)* that they will leave the workforce and that, if they return after a period of child-rearing, it will be in the capacity of part-time workers. The screening criteria for part-time females workers are very moderate, although many women work part-time for almost full-time hours despite the fact that their income is drastically reduced and their working conditions are very much worse than are those of their full-time peers since the labour laws frequently exclude part-time contract and seasonal workers from their coverage. **

Popular debate about the fate and current situation of the Japanese family is almost a national pastime in Japan and the ease with which various values are blended with changing structural characteristics counsels discretion for the non-expert. Nevertheless one can speculate about a society which has strong traditions venerating the aged but which forces older workers out of the workforce - frequently with inadequate provision for their future - in order to make way for the youth of the society. At the same time, the men are encouraged to locate their prime sources of personal identity in their work organisations. There is an ideology which articulates a view of women as mothers and home-makers, and this must certainly be the case in the crucial fifteen years or so as their children face the series of hurdles created by the education system. The reality for many women is that when they return to work there will be few laws or regulations which institutionalise formal protection (labour laws) and recognition (parity of income) of the contribution they make simply by representing a flexible resource. There are those who would argue that such protection and recognition may allow men to seek satisfaction and achievement in a manner less constrained by present narrowly-defined work ideologies. Meanwhile children, both boys and girls, continue to make the transition from school to work in a way which firstly creates pressure to achieve grades or scores that are too easily linked with a sense of personal worth or lack of it; but which may then provide them (especially those girls who gain early employment and remain living at home) with relatively high levels of disposable income.*** As always, the costs and benefits of relatively low youth unemployment can be seen and evaluated only against a wider backdrop of institutional structures and cultural values.

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* Amongst female college students 65 per cent of four-year graduates and 85 per cent of two-year graduates plan to retire when they marry or have children. Although the Labour Standards Law does not specifically prohibit discrimination by sex, nevertheless 'going back some ten or fifteen years, there has not been a single female who has not lost her appeal for reinstatement upon her job being terminated after marriage, in the courts of law in Japan' (p.25).[5]

** In 1981 average female incomes were only 53.3 per cent of male incomes; female part-time incomes were only 70 per cent of female full-time incomes; however, 20 per cent of the total employed female labour force was part-time. Many worked up to eight hours a day and despite having worked continuously for more than one year with the same employer only 21 per cent of these were entitled to paid holidays (p.26-27).[5]

*** In 1975 Yukiko Kitazume, an author-housewife with a philosophy major, asserted: 'Japanese parents do not question their role of looking after their daughters until they marry them off. Taking advantage of this tradition, the young women mainly live off their parents until marriage, even if they have jobs. Counting on their parents' willingness to satisfy their whims, they go on a non-stop buying spree'.[6]

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IN THIS ISSUE

Page

PART 2

* YOUTH STUDIES: THE RESEARCH - Labour Markets and Young People. Part 1 57

  . Preface 58

  . The General Labour Market: a summary of the research
  by *C. Blakers* 59

  . Dynamic Insights into Youth Unemployment: A synthesis of recent research
  by *Peter Stricker* 71

* REVIEW PAPER No. 10

  . Who Gets Ahead? Inequalities in Access to Post-Secondary Education
  by *Don Anderson* 89

NATIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE ON TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL

YOUTH STUDIES: THE RESEARCH

LABOUR MARKETS AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Part 1

Preface

The General Labour Market: a summary of the research

by *C. Blakers*

Dynamic Insights into Youth Unemployment: A synthesis of recent research

by *Peter Stricker*

November 1983

PREFACE

Increasing attention is being given in Australia to the questions of where and how young people enter and leave the workforce and their place in and relationship with it. Much of this interest has been generated by increasing levels of youth unemployment, which give impetus to the search for understanding as a basis for remedies and action.

The effort in these directions has been somewhat belated and ad hoc, and major gaps are being identified in the statistical information available. Australia also lacks the solid basis of information which would have been provided by adequate and coherent longitudinal studies over the last two decades. However, an increasing amount of work is being undertaken and reported on.

This series of papers will attempt to draw together the research information which has come to the Clearinghouse, and to provide as well the insights of some persons with knowledge and interest in particular areas. In this issue, the Clearinghouse summary outlines trends in the general labour market as a context for later discussion of youth labour markets. Peter Stricker's paper synthesises recent research on youth unemployment and the movements in and out of the labour market which help to produce the overall statistical picture.

Must we but weep o'er days more blest?

THE GENERAL LABOUR MARKET

A summary of the research

by *C. Blakers*

Labour Markets and Young People

The research seems to indicate that two kinds of labour market factors affect the employment of young people. Firstly, there are those characteristics of the general labour market which may have particular consequences for young people such as the effects of technological and industrial change on occupations and job opportunities. Secondly, there are special factors such as levels of youth wages or employer attitudes which may be considered as contributing to disadvantage in employment for young people. This paper is concerned with the general labour market which provides the context within which youth labour markets operate and have to be considered.

In the structures of Australian industry and its occupational patterns and requirements, there are characteristics and trends which can be seen as important influences for good or ill on employment opportunities for the labour force generally and for some groups within the labour force particularly. Among these groups are young people, and among the trends and characteristics which may affect them are:

- the changing patterns of industry and occupations
- the segmentation of the labour force
- the changing patterns of employment
- the levels of unemployment.

Changing Patterns of Industry and Occupations

As outlined in the Clearinghouse November 1982 Newsletter (p.31-32), the post-war patterns of industry and of occupational opportunity have been continuing the changes which, in the first half of the century, had seen the emphasis shift from primary to manufacturing industries and thence to the service industries (Jones, A47, Chapter 3; Bureau of Industry Economics Research Report, A5, Chapter 2). From 1966, the number of persons employed in the agricultural sector declined steadily to provide only 6.5 per cent of total employment in 1981. The Report of the Committee on Technological Cahnge (for the Australian Science and Technology Council - ASTEC)[1] describes the changes in the various sectors (p.43-46). It indicates a highly capital intensive mining sector on a small employment base accounting for no more than 1.5 per cent of total employment and a manufacturing sector which has been declining since the mid-1970s to provide in the early 1980s 19.4 per cent of total employment. Ninety-nine per cent of the increase in total employment between 1964-65 and 1977-78 has been in the service sector. The service sector in 1981 provided 72.6 per cent of total employment and, within this sector, one-third of the increase was in the 'community services' area. Part of the growth in the services sector has been due to employment in the public sector which, between 1971 and 1981, grew by 29 per cent compared with an 8 per cent growth in the

private sector. Public sector employment now accounts for about 30 per cent of total employment (BLMR Report No. 3, p.3;[2] BLMR 83/AB:40).

There was, in the process of these changes among industrial sectors, a progressive shift away from blue collar to white collar occupations. The demand for professional, technical, clerical, sport/recreational and sales persons has increased, while there have been corresponding decreases in the demand for tradesmen, production/process workers and labourers (BIE Report A5, Chapter 2).

Associated with these changes in the patterns of industry and employment is the influence of technological change. Technology has always been a significant factor in changing industry structures and occupational opportunities. As the 1981 Report of the South Australian Council on Technological Change (A51) pointed out:

> Human societies have always striven to improve their material lot and this has been the basic motivation for technological change. Technological change has always been a basic component in the development of society. In that sense, technological change is, and has always been, inevitable. (p.11)

But in the last decade or so, the pace of technological change has been accelerating with the increasing use of the technology based on the micro-chip and computers. The ASTEC Report distinguishes two kinds of technological change: one leading to new products (including services); the second, leading to new processes for producing existing products. Product technological change (which has produced such things as antibiotics, television and refrigerators) has the potential to improve employment prospects both directly and indirectly, as well as improving human health and comfort. Process technological change (particularly if directed to economising costs of labour) in general causes direct losses in employment, though a failure to maintain process change may lead indirectly to greater unemployment by reducing international competitiveness. Vigorous encouragement of product innovation, especially in high technology fields, is likely to bring benefits in both the short and long-term which cannot be achieved by protection for uncompetitive industries (Chapter 4).

The Report goes on to argue the importance of the relationships between technology, employment and policies in that social attitudes and economic policies towards technological change 'play a significant part in contributing to vigorous economic growth' (p.130) and it strongly argues the need for positive programs of research, development and innovation, noting 'with concern the drastic decline in Australia's industrial research and development effort since 1973-74' (p.31).

Pointing out the close relationship between policies, technological change and economic outcomes, the South Australian Technology Council (A51) commented:

> Technological change often, but not always, carries with it implications for employment. It is important to appreciate, however, that other decisions by governments or corporations based on political or economic considerations can have a far greater impact on employment. A decision

> to lower tariffs on footwear or motor cars, for example, will have a significant impact on employment in those industries. Downturns in metal prices or the use of steel at the international level can lead to large scale closedowns of Australian plants with loss of employment. Moreover, technological developments in other countries leading to better or cheaper products can often force structural changes in this country. (p.13)

The policies of governments and management which continue the traditions of favouring capital over labour may also exacerbate the effect which technology may have on employment. Shirley Williams (A42) makes this point in relation to OECD countries:

> But during past decades all of us adopted the habit - and we were long justified in doing so - of thinking in terms of saving labour. On this account many managers trained in our countries' universities and colleges simply do not know how to organise substantial labour forces, so they use machinery instead. Further significant evidence of this conditioning process can be seen in the way highly capital-intensive processes have been introduced and used in Third World countries by Western-trained experts despite the availability of large local labour reserves prepared to work for low wages. (p.21)

However complex the causes of industry and employment change, the effects are already to be seen in the numbers and kinds of job opportunities. Earley (B85) points out that 'employment prospects in such areas as sales, clerical, secretarial, retailing, banking and teaching are diminishing' (p.272), along with such areas of manufacturing industry as textiles, clothing and footwear. Burke, in her study of Clerical Work and Technological Change (A50) discusses the loss of clerical jobs, pointing out that the numbers of clerical job seekers far exceeds the numbers of positions available. She goes on to state that 'there is every indication that these losses (in office job opportunities) are the result of office rationalisation and/or new technology. Among industries most affected are banking, insurance and the public service' (p.23). Encel (A49) summing up from four case histories of technological change, sees as one of the effects qualitative changes in the composition of the workforce, resulting in dwindling employment opportunities for unskilled, semi-skilled or base-grade clerical workers, increasing job opportunities for highly trained specialists and generally for graduates, and few employment opportunities for young people without work experience. Jones (A47), taking the analysis further into the future, maintains that 'office work will be increasingly dominated by "smart machines" - computers which take, handle and process data without reference to humans' (p.120). He poses the 'question of how semi-skilled and unskilled workers can compete economically with the new technology' (p.117). Speaking of word processors, the ASTEC Report has this to say:

> The employment effects of word processors cannot be summarised simply as a displacement ratio. Because of the variety of tasks done by a secretary or typist there is likely to be a threshold of two or three positions per office before displacement occurs. It has been calculated that between

> 30,000 and 40,000 staff would be displaced by 1981, if the suppliers' forecast of 20,000 word processors proved correct and if employees were displaced on a similar scale to that suggested by an earlier Australian study. Such a reduction would be equivalent to approximately 20 per cent of clerical/typing employment in 1976.
>
> Despite recognition that productivity increases need not displace staff in a competitive firm, overall there could be a significant decrease in employment if the forecasts for rapid introduction of word processors prove correct. Problems will continue for the employment of women with clerical/typing skills, until or unless there are substantial new products and demand for them in the information sector. (p.84). (See also 83/AB:5-8)

In its concluding discussion of major issues in adaptation to technological change, the ASTEC Report goes on to comment:

> Earlier sections of the Report have indicated that attitudes and policies towards technological change play a significant part in contributing to vigorous economic growth. Section 4 indicates that particular benefits are likely to be derived in some areas. These include innovation resulting in significantly new products, and high technology developments which provide infrastructure for others. An important consideration is that the use of advanced technology requires workers with appropriate skills and a basic understanding of science and technology which will enable them to adapt readily to new ideas and methods.(p.130)

Thus education, training and re-training are seen by this Report as crucial to the long-term capacity of the Australian community to maximise the benefits of technological change and minimise its detrimental effects. The same arguments underlie comments by Ford in a number of his papers. Deploring the lack of concern and priority for the development of human resources in Australia (A67) he maintains that the balance of skills will be critical in determining a nation's comparative advantage, its terms of trade, its balance of trade and finally its standard of living. He identifies seven areas of concern: the failure to develop adequate skills to meet the changing nature of industry, technology and organisations, so that Australia is becoming a technologically and highly vulnerable society; the predominant interest in exploitation of physical and financial resources at the expense of human resources; Australia's optimistic reliance on immigration to provide needed skills; the concentration on large scale exploitation of physical resources or on using large numbers of low-skilled people, even though it has been demonstrated in the United States and elsewhere that the development of skills is a critical factor in rural development and decentralisation; Australian reliance on American and British models of organisational behaviour and management education and philosophy; the fact that interest in skills in Australia is normally restricted to traditional trade skills, university developed technical skills and managerial and marketing skills, little interest being taken in skill formation for high technology process workers; the urgent need for educational institutions to question their policies in relation to skill formation and information, both for students and staff. Drawing on

Japanese and West German approaches and practices which contrast sharply with Australian rigidities of industrial and training structures and lack of concern with skill development, he argues that Australia needs to recognise that the development of human resources is a shared responsibility to be negotiated; is evolutionary not revolutionary; should be targeted to groups and areas of disadvantage and should co-ordinate institutional and experiential learning. We can learn from other countries, but must develop our own policies and practices to meet our own circumstances. Failing measures such as these, he sees a long-term decline in the employment opportunities available to the under-educated, under-trained, under-experienced and under-skilled in our society.[3]

Segmentation of the Labour Force

A significant and long-standing characteristic of the Australian labour market is its segmentation on the basis of age and of gender; that is, the concentrations in some industries and occupations of particular age groups or of one or other of the sexes. Age segmentation will be discussed in a later paper in its relevance to the youth labour market.

Gender-based segmentation has been well documented. Basically, the labour market is segregated between men and women in two ways: by industry and by occupation. The two are inter-related and the second is of particular importance.

In 1979, males and females were well represented in 15 of 37 listed industries; seven of the 37 were disproportionately female and 15 were disproportionately male (Women's Bureau, A24, p.22). The ASTEC Report notes the high concentration of women in the community services and in retail trades. 'Forty-one per cent of the employed persons in the service sector in May 1982 were females, as against 25 per cent in manufacturing, 24 per cent in agriculture and 9 per cent in mining' (p.46-48).

Occupational segregation is even more marked. When women moved out of the home and into the workforce, they moved on the whole into female type work: serving, office work, domestic service, catering, nursing, teaching and other community service. The classification of work into men's jobs and women's jobs has been a long-established feature of Australian society, recognised and accepted by both men and women. This segregation of men and women in the workforce according to type of industry and type of job has meant that economic and industrial changes affect men and women differently, whether they are adults or youth. In 1971, one-third of the female workforce was engaged in only three occupations, while one-third of the male workers was engaged in sixteen occupations. There is no evidence, according to the BIE Report mentioned above (A5) that this situation has changed substantially by the end of the decade. The Women's Bureau (A24) states that, in 1979, of women in overwhelmingly 'female' occupations, 84.4 per cent were concentrated in 18 of 61 occupations. Over half were engaged in 5 occupations: clerical workers, sales assistants, stenographers and typists, housekeepers (and cooks/maids) and teachers (p.22).

The ASTFC Report quotes a 1977 OECD study as finding 'that of the countries studied Australia had the highest degree of occupational segregation of men and women. In that year over 85 per cent of women in the paid workforce were concentrated in 18 of the 61 occupations listed by

the statistician, these occupations being overwhelmingly 'female' occupations. Thus over half the female paid workforce were concentrated in five occupations: clerical workers; sales assistants; stenographers and typists; housekeepers, cooks and maids; and teachers. Only 12 per cent were employed in 'male' occupations where three-quarters of the male workforce were employed ... there are only two occupational groups where males and females are fairly evenly represented: professional, technical and related workers (where women are mainly employed as teachers and nurses) and sales. Clerical occupations are the major source of employment for women, with over one-third of employed women working in such occupations. The largest major occupational group for men is that comprising tradesmen, production-process workers and labourers'.

Earley (B85) emphasises that these female dominated occupations are the ones 'increasingly and disproportionately threatened by technological change and the general economic recession' (p.272). Employment prospects are diminishing in sales, clerical, secretarial, retailing, banking and teaching, as well as in the service sector which absorbed previously many tertiary educated women; the manufacturing sector and the textiles, clothing and footwear industries which depended on unskilled and lowly educated women. Burke, in her study of Clerical Work and Technological Change (A50) discusses the loss of clerical jobs, pointing out that the numbers of clerical job seekers far exceeds the numbers of positions available, and a very large proportion (30 per cent in 1980) of the female labour force is classified in clerical occupations (p.23). She goes on to state that 'there is every indication that these losses (in office job opportunities) are the result of office rationalisation and/or new technology.

Further aspects of labour market segmentation are to be seen in lower average incomes for women than for men (Gruen A48) and in the general lower levels of wages set for female occupations than would apply if the occupations were male dominated (Gregory).[4]

Another kind of segregation again is based on the allocation of responsibility in employment. Burke (A50), describing the 'feminisation and mechanisation' of the office in Victorian times, maintains that, with the introduction of the typewriter, the work of the office was divided into sex-segregated tasks, 'thus reducing the male clerk's fear of competition. Women were allowed in to perform the routine and subservient functions; there was no likelihood of their wishing to climb the promotional ladder as men were expected to do' (p.5). Burke goes on to discuss the further development of this 'fragmentation and routinisation' of office tasks which is being induced by the present introduction of word processors into offices.

Game and Pringle (83/AB:81) dispel the notion that such types of segmentation are a remnant of a feudal past that is gradually being eliminated. They find that, in new and supposedly non-sex-biased industries such as those based on computer technology, the old patterns are gradually being re-established so that women predominate in the least skilled and responsible areas and are disadvantaged in terms of career prospects. Ford, in a paper on Technology, Women and Employment,[5] discusses a number of male technocratic concepts of society and work which are barriers to improving women's employment opportunities and argues the need to provide equal access to technical skills, training, re-training and recurrent education.

Changing Patterns of Employment

One of the marked trends of the last fifteen years or more has been the growth in part-time employment, parallel with a decline in full-time employment. With the onset of the recession in the second half of the 1970s, total employment growth fell from an average of 2.67 per cent in 1966-74 to 0.48 per cent in 1974-78 (Gregory and Stricker A25, p.18). This decline in employment growth was concentrated in full-time employment, while part-time employment actually rose. Stricker and Sheehan comment that 'between 1966 and 1973 part-time employment grew at the rapid annual rate of 5.5 per cent, while full-time employment grew by 2.3 per cent. However, in the recent period of much more unfavourable economic conditions part-time employment has maintained and somewhat improved on this rate of growth, the average annual rate of growth being 5.8 per cent in the period from August 1973 to August 1980, while full-time employment rose by only 0.4 per cent over this seven-year period' (Stricker and Sheehan, A41, p.27; see also Gruen, A48, pp.22-23).

Gregory comments that between August 1974 and August 1979, full-time employment fell by approximately 44,000, most of the reduction affecting women. Over the same period, part-time employment increased by 230,000 of which 70 per cent were women (p.304). Between August 1967 and August 1974, part-time jobs accounted for only 25 per cent of employment growth; between 1974 and 1979, part-time jobs accounted for all employment growth (Gregory, p.304).

Nevertheless, Stricker and Sheehan (A41) suggest that the fact that the whole burden of the recession has been felt in full-time employment is strongly indicative of 'disguised under-employment among some of those working part-time' (p.27), and estimate that 'at August 1980, the under-utilisation of labour implied in involuntary part-time working was equivalent to between 60,000 and 70,000 full-time workers' (p.30).

Part-time employment growth however is also due to the fact that in many industries - and particularly in those largely female dominated such as sales, clerical work, service, sport and recreation - a part-time workforce often has the advantage for the employer of economy and flexibility. Gruen (A48) sums up the factors influencing the demand for part-time labour:

> The growing importance of service industries, which tend to have more concentrated daily or weekly workloads, is one important factor. Another is probably the lower hourly costs of employing part-time labour because of lower costs incurred for annual and long-service leave, sick leave, not to mention superannuation and other employment benefits. According to a recent ABS publication, almost three-quarters of all full-time employees receive one or more such employee benefits (cf. Table 12, No. 6334.0); whilst such benefits are much less frequent for part-time employees. Another reason for the faster growth of part-time employment is that such labour can be used more productively as it can be hired when it is most needed (p.22).

Increases in part-time as against full-time work have not been accompanied by corresponding changes in approaches to and conditions of

employment such as permanency, superannuation benefits, illness benefits. For the part-time worker, the prevailing structures and approaches of employment offer little security, tenure or career prospects. For those whose employment is largely part-time - mainly the young, women and other disadvantaged groups - participation in the labour force is likely to be characterised by partial access, reduced earning capacity, insecurity of employment, poor career prospects and opportunities and exclusion from most of the education, training, sickness, pension and other benefits of full-time tenured employment. Jamrozik, Hoey and Leeds, in their study of Employment Benefits (B112) - that is, those extra benefits in addition to salary/wages which are received by an employee as part of working conditions - concluded that the highest levels of these go to those on the highest rungs of the occupational ladder in administration, executive and managerial positions and in industries such as business, finance, property services and mining. On the other hand, 'the lowest level of benefits is received by employees in personal services industry; for example, recreation, catering, etc. The majority of employees in that aggregate industrial sector are women and young people. Part-time work is also a prominent feature in these industries' (p.17-18).

Finally, Encel's case history of the computerisation of the South Australian Totaliser Agency Board (A49) poses a question about the future of part-time casual employment as a source of job opportunities. He notes that, before computerisation:

> One particular feature of the TAB situation was that the majority of employees were casual, and of these more than 90 per cent were women. (Among the permanent staff, the female proportion varied from 76 to 82 per cent during the period 1970-1979.) In 1970, out of a total staff of 634, 481 were casuals; in 1978, the last year before computerisation, the total number was 1168, out of which 970 were casual. In 1979, the casual numbers had fallen to 574, while the number of permanent staff was virtually unchanged.
>
> Under the computerized system, most of the ticket selling work, carried out largely by casual staff, was replaced by computer tickets, filled in by punters and inserted into a computer terminal for processing. The management structure was simplified by abolishing the four separate grades of agency, which were consolidated into one. The managerial role itself was significantly curtailed through reduction of staff numbers, necessitating less supervision, and the centralisation of functions such as rostering. Agency managers (all women) now work 7 per cent fewer hours. Other supervisory duties in TAB agencies have been reduced by 20 per cent, so that hours worked by remaining staff were less. Using the principle of 'last in, first out', all casual staff taken on after June 1, 1976 were given a contract stipulating thatno guarantee of further employment could be given after the introduction of computerization, and all of these had been given notice by the time computerization was complete.
>
> At head office, management structures were also simplified, staff numbers were reduced by 40 per cent, and hours worked cut by 57 per cent. Taken over all, computerization

> simplified the nature of the work, and reduced hours of employment by 50 per cent. Agency managers lost about 18 per cent of their work hours, but were more affected by the loss of skill and responsibility which accompanied computerization. Casual staff lost between 50 per cent and 85 per cent of their individual average weekly hours, and with the decline in the general availability of casual work, most of them will have difficulty finding employment in the future (p.6).

Unemployment

Up to about 1974, the industrial and technological changes had not significantly affected levels of recorded unemployment. The Bureau of Industry Economics Research Report 3 (Annotated Bibliography D5, Chapter 1) gives a clear historical perspective on unemployment up to 1977-78:

> Over the thirty years from 1945-55 to 1973-74 the annual average unemployment rate was 1.9 per cent varying within a range of only 1.1 to 3.2 per cent. Thereafter it rose rapidly by 4.1 percentage points to 6.2 per cent in 1977-78 ... the break from the post-war unemployment rate norm first appeared in the survey month of November 1974. A major part of the total 3.8 points rise in unemployment between August 1974 and August 1978 took place in the first twelve months of the period. Subsequent annual increases have been smaller, although seasonal factors have resulted in sharp increases in unemployment each February when most school leavers are first recorded in the labour force survey (p.1).

Summing up, the Report comments:

> An examination of Australian historical data reveals that one must go back to before the 1940s to find comparable levels of unemployment to those now experienced. In fact Figure 1.1 shows that the 1977-78 average unemployment rate of 6.2 per cent has been exceeded previously only in the years 1902-03 to 1905-06 and also 1928-29 to 1939-40. However, the number of persons represented by a given rate is now much higher. Whereas the 1903-04 peak of 9.4 per cent represented about 155,000 and the 1931-32 peak of 19.7 per cent about 512,000, the 1977-78 rate of 6.2 per cent involved almost 400,000 persons (p. 1).

Gruen (A48) comments that 'the spectacular four-fold increase in the recorded unemployment rate from mid-1974 when it was 1.5 per cent to the mid-1978 figure of 6 per cent has been unprecedented in Australia's post-war history' (p.11). The increases, he goes on to say, have brought Australia from being in the bottom third among OECD nations in terms of recorded unemployment rates into the top or worst third along with Spain, Italy and Canada.

Jamrozik and Hoey, in Chapter 2 of their paper Workforce in Transition (83/AB:9) summarise some of the changes which occurred during the 1970s in the labour market and the workforce. The decade to 1980 saw a population increase of 16.5 per cent to 14.6 millions. 'Over the same period, the workforce also increased by 16.4 per cent, from 5.4 millions to 6.3 millions. The labour market did not absorb this increase in the workforce, resulting in the growth of unemployment from 86.4 thousand, or 1.6 per cent of the workforce, to 385.4 thousand, or 6.1 per cent of the workforce' (p.7). The ASTEC Report comments that 'the percentage of the civilian population aged 15 years and over who were employed in these years has varied from 60.5 per cent in 1973 to a minimum 56.0 per cent in 1982 (August). The decrease since 1973 is consistent with the rise in the numbers of unemployed' (p.41).

The unemployment has not been spread evenly over the whole community but has been concentrated particularly in some groups: young people, women, migrants, aborigines and those with handicap of one kind or another. Gregory (A72) points out that 'the unemployed come overwhelmingly from those who have not held a previous first-time job or have held a previous full-time job of very short duration' (p.33). 'The approximate "unemployment rate" ... diminishes very quickly with job tenure, from 11 per cent for job tenures of less than 26 weeks to .78 per cent for job tenures greater than 5 years. Those with long tenure therefore face a very low probability of becoming unemployed; (p.34).

For those who are unemployed, there has been a significant increase in the average length of unemployment. Gruen (A48) comments 'in 1968, 7.5 per cent of the labour force was unemployed - on average - for 10 weeks, whilst in 1979 15 per cent of the workfoce were unemployed - on average - from some 21 weeks' (p.12) (see also ASTEC Report, p.53).

These are the officially recorded figures for unemployment. They do not take account of 'hidden' unemployment; that is, unemployment or underemployment of those who would like to work if work were available. Stricker and Sheehan (A41) estimate that in August 1979 hidden unemployment (all persons) was of the order of 340,000, only a little less than the recorded unemployed at the time of 374,000 persons. Total unemployment at that date is estimated by them to have amounted to 710,000 persons; that is, 11 per cent or one in nine persons in the total enlarged workforce (p.6). Gruen (A48) suggests on the basis of past trends in labour force participation rates that 'by mid-1979 somewhere between 3 and 5.25 per cent of people had not entered the labour force who might have been expected to do so on the basis of the previous high employment experience' (p.18).

The Australian Bureau of Statistics, acknowledging hidden unemployment as a fact estimated 74,000 'discouraged job-seekers' in September 1979. The ABS estimates of discouraged workers were then regarded by Stricker and Sheehan (A41) as low and not an adequate measure of hidden unemployment for a number of reasons detailed in their analysis (p.9). But, even on ABS estimates the number of discouraged job-seekers has grown considerably since 1979 to 113,200 in March 1983, and the ABS publication, Persons Not in the Labour Force, Australia March 1983 (Cat. No. 6220,0, 9 August 1983) comments:

> The increase in the number of discouraged jobseekers has generally paralleled the increase in unemployment over the last several years. The number of discouraged job-

seekers had been relatively stable in the period from September 1979 to March 1982 but increased by 34 per cent from 84,500 to 113,200 in the six months to March 1983. This compares with a rise of 45 per cent in unemployment over the same period (p.3)

Total unemployment has also continued to rise. In September 1983, there were 718,700 persons unemployed, giving an unemployment rate of 10.2 per cent compared with 7.3 per cent in September 1982; 5.7 per cent in September 1981 and 6.0 per cent in September 1980. The diagram given in the ABS catalogue mentioned above illustrates the rises.

The Consequences for Young People

Four trends in the Australian labour market have been discussed in this paper: the changing patterns of industry and occupations; the segmentation of the labour force; the changing patterns of employment and the levels of unemployment. Each has been treated discretely, but they are, of course, inter-related and complex both in their origins and in their effects on young people as on other groups in the community. The next paper will attempt to trace the consequences of these trends for the youth labour market.

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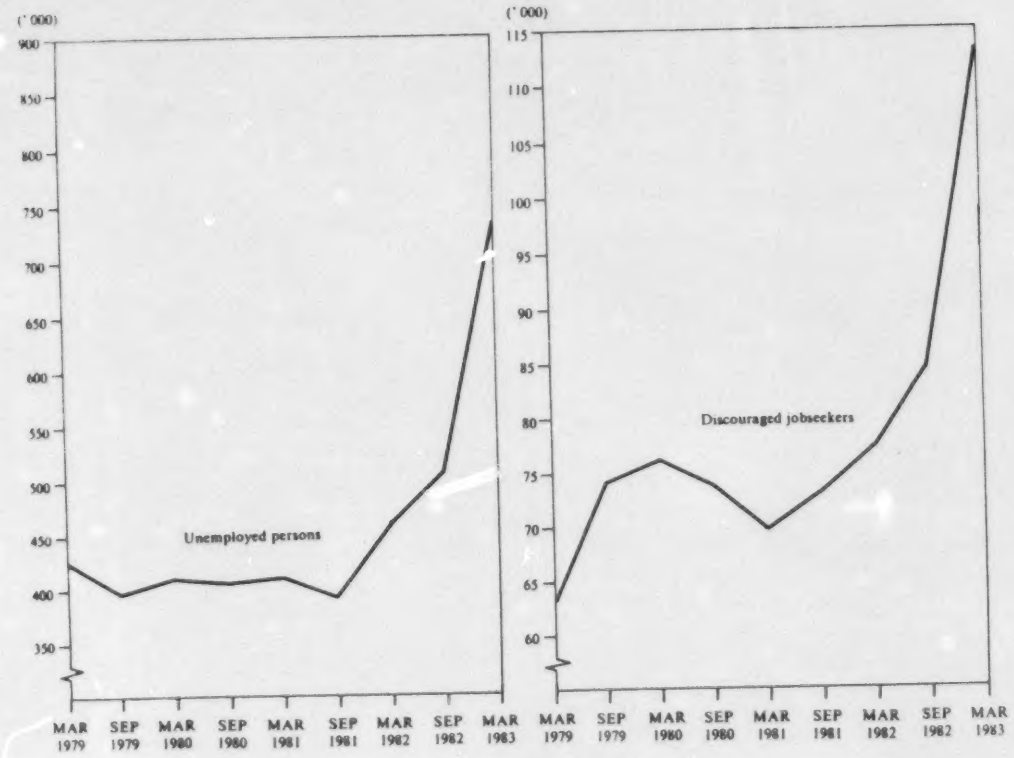
N.B. Abstracts of 1, 2, 3 and 5 will appear in the February 1984 collection.

DIAGRAM 1. UNEMPLOYED PERSONS AND DISCOURAGED JOBSEEKERS



Source: ABS. Persons Not in the Labour Force, Australia, March 1983. Cat. No. 6220.0, August 1983 (p.3).

DYNAMIC INSIGHTS INTO YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT**

A synthesis of recent research

by *Peter Stricker**

The Flows Approach to Analysing the Labour Market

A great deal of overseas research into the operation of the labour market has emphasised that 'soft core employment' occurs more frequently than 'hard core unemployment'. As Aaron has written in the context of American experiences: 'The national significance of the hard core unemployed was seen to be minor compared to the difficulties encountered by the 'soft core employed', the millions of workers who had no difficulties finding jobs of sorts but could not find or keep jobs that held out the prospect of promotion and a decent wage' (Aaron, 1978, p.112). This reassessment of the nature of the key labour market problem reflects growing awareness of the dynamic character of the labour market; of the role played by the characteristics of jobs and the habits of people in bringing about the observed dynamism; and of the pattern of concentration of unemployment. The view of the labour market which emphasises its dynamic features has been succinctly captured by Aaron in his observation that: '... most of the difference between unemployment rates of blacks and whites, men and women, young and prime age workers, can be attributed to the frequency of unemployment; very little is attributable to differences in the duration of unemployment ... The picture that emerges is one of a massive lottery, in which people at any given time are in one of three states - employed, unemployed, or not in the labour force. The chances of moving from unemployment into a job differ, but only by a little, from one demographic group to another. But the chances of moving from employment either into unemployment or out of the labour force altogether differ greatly and account for almost all of the differences among demographic groups in unemployment' (Aaron, 1978: p.119).

Considerably different approaches to policy emerge from the traditional and the more modern view. The traditional view holds that the key problem in the labour market is one of finding jobs (a position which favours the creation of additional jobs) while the alternative view emphasises the short duration and high frequency of unemployment experiences (a position which favours attempts to change the nature of jobs or the habits of workers).

The new perspective on the operation of the labour market has been particularly emphasised in recent analyses of the functioning of the labour market for young people. For instance, arising out of a large volume of research on labour market flow patterns for young people the OECD (1980: p.59) observed that 'there are two main empirical findings:

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** This review is based on material included in a Ph.D thesis recently accepted by the University of Melbourne.

- a great deal of present high young unemployment is explained by very high turnover rates among young people
- much of youth unemployment is concentrated in a small group who experience serious and protracted difficulties in the labour market'.

The second of these positions represents something of a return to a previously held concern with long term unemployment as distinct from unemployment associated with employment turnover and normal labour market dynamics. Thus, it is now believed that while the majority of young people who are unemployed are out of work for short periods in consequence of their employment instability, much of the problem of youth unemployment is attributable to the persistent unemployment of a small number of individuals.

In this article a synthesis is provided of the principal findings of a body of recent research into the functioning of the youth labour market which has emphasised the dynamic nature of the labour market for young people; inferences from the flows perspective relating to the measurement of youth unemployment are drawn. In the following section, the key impressions emerging from gross flow data on the pattern of labour market flows of young people in Australia are summarised, while the subsequent section considers some issues in establishing the qualitative significance of these findings.

Labour Market Flow Patterns of Young People: Impressions from Australian Gross Flows Data[1]

The findings of overseas research such as the major American study of Clark and Summers (1980a) that the youth labour market is extremely dynamic, with young people moving frequently between employment, unemployment and outside the labour force and often moving from outside the labour force to employment without experiencing unemployment, have been verified in the Australian context by analysis of gross flows in the youth labour market (Gregory and Stricker, 1981; Foster and Gregory, 1982a, 1982b). Information on the dynamic nature of the youth labour market, drawn from the data relating to 1979-80 used in these Australian studies, is presented in Tables 1 to 3.

Column 1 of Table 1 relates to the number of persons who stayed in employment between successive months, while Columns 2 and 3 relate to the destination state of persons who moved from employment during a monthly period. Part A of the Table provides data on the number of persons involved in each of these situations, while Part B indicates the proportion of persons who were still employed (Column 1) and the proportion of persons who had changed their situation after one month during 1979-80 (Columns 2 and 3), with Column 2 indicating the proportion of employed persons moving into unemployment and Column 3 indicating the proportion of employed persons moving out of the labour force. The percentage shares of destination states for persons who had changed their employment status (the 'movers') is shown in Part C of the table in terms of unemployment (Column 2) or outside the labour force (Column 3).

Tables 2 and 3 provide comparable measures of flow propensity for persons moving from unemployment (Table 2) and from outside the labour force into the labour force (Table 3). The flows in these two tables are,

Table 1. Flows out of Employment: Youth and Prime Age Males: 1979-80 (thousand persons and per cent)
Labour force status in given month of persons employed in previous month

	Non-Movers	Movers		
	Still employed (1)	Unemployed (2)	Not in Labour Force (3)	Total (4)
A. Thousand persons				
Males				
15-19	259.3	7.9	12.8	280.0
20-24	376.9	6.7	6.0	389.6
25-54	2038.5	12.4	18.0	2068.9
Females				
15-19	211.0	6.9	11.9	230.7
20-24	284.1	3.6	10.2	297.9
B. Per Cent Distribution				
Males				
15-19	92.6	2.8	4.6	100.0
20-24	96.7	1.7	1.5	100.0
25-54	98.5	0.6	0.9	100.0
Females				
15-19	91.9	3.0	5.1	100.0
20-24	95.4	1.2	3.4	100.0
C. Per Cent Distribution of Persons Changing Labour Force Status				
Males				
15-19		38.2	61.8	100.0
20-24		52.8	47.2	100.0
25-54		40.8	59.2	100.0
Females				
15-19		36.7	63.3	100.0
20-24		26.1	73.9	100.0

Source: Unpublished ABS data provided to Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research

Table 2. Flows out of Unemployment: Youth and Prime Age Males: 1979-80 (thousand persons and per cent)
Labour Force Status in Given Month of Persons Unemployed in Previous Month

	Non-movers		Movers	
	Still Unemployed (1)	Employed (2)	Not in labour force (3)	Total (4)
A. Thousand persons				
Males				
15-19	30.0	11.1	7.8	48.9
20-24	23.2	8.8	2.7	34.7
25-54	41.2	14.2	5.3	60.7
Females				
15-19	36.8	10.9	10.0	57.7
20-24	18.8	5.4	5.2	29.4
B. Per cent Distribution				
Males				
15-19	61.3	22.7	16.0	100.0
20-24	66.8	25.4	7.8	100.0
25-54	67.9	23.4	8.7	100.0
Females				
15-19	63.8	18.9	17.3	100.0
20-24	63.9	18.4	17.7	100.0
C. Per Cent Distribution of Persons Changing Labour Force Status				
Males				
15-19		58.7	41.3	100.0
20-24		76.5	23.5	100.0
25-54		72.8	27.2	100.0
Females				
15-19		52.2	47.8	100.0
20-24		50.9	49.1	100.0

Source: Unpublished ABS data provided to Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research

Table 3. Flows into the Labour Force: Youth and Prime Age Males: 1979-80 (thousand persons and per cent)
Labour Force Status in Given Month of Persons Not in labour force in first month

	Non-movers	Movers		
	Still not in labour force (1)	Employed (2)	Unemployed (3)	Total (4)
A. Thousand persons				
Males				
15-19	148.3	15.4	11.1	174.8
20-24	25.2	6.1	3.8	35.1
25-54	76.7	16.2	6.5	99.4
Females				
15-19	165.6	13.0	13.8	192.4
20-24	117.0	8.3	6.3	131.6
B. Per cent Distribution				
Males				
15-19	84.8	8.8	6.4	100.0
20-24	71.8	17.4	10.8	100.0
25-54	77.2	16.3	6.5	100.0
Females				
15-19	86.1	6.8	7.2	100.0
20-24	88.9	6.3	4.8	100.0
C. Per cent Distribution of Persons Changing Labour Force Status				
Males				
15-19		58.1	41.9	100.0
20-24		61.6	38.4	100.0
25-54		71.4	28.6	100.0
Females				
15-19		48.5	51.5	100.0
20-24		56.8	43.2	100.0

Source: Unpublished ABS data provided to Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research

respectively, from unemployment to either employment or outside the labour force (Table 2), and from outside the labour force to either employment or unemployment (Table 3).

Several key findings of the research into the functioning of the youth labour market based upon analysis of gross flows data may be readily established with reference to the data in these tables. Firstly, the gross flows for young people are extremely large, and are not confined to movements within the labour force categories of employment and unemployment but extend to include movements between the labour force and outside the labour force. Using the technique adopted by Foster and Gregory of comparing youth flow propensities with those of prime age males, several features emerge. It is evident that teenagers and young adults display a greater propensity to leave employment than prime age males (Table 1, part B). Upon moving from employment, the data in Table 1, Part C indicate that a significantly greater proportion of young people (with the exception of males 20 to 24) move out of the labour force rather than into unemployment. It is apparent (from Table 2, part B) that young people who are unemployed in one month are more likely than prime age males to have moved out of unemployment by the second month. Compared with prime age males, a higher proportion of the movement out of the state of unemployment amongst young people represents movement outside the labour force. From Table 3 it is evident that teenagers of both sexes, and female young adults, have a lower propensity to move into the labour force after an absence from the labour force than do prime age males. While over 70 per cent of prime age males moving into the labour force go from being outside the labour force into employment between successive months, this successful transition is made by a much smaller proportion of labour force entrants in the youth age groups. Notwithstanding the lower successful labour force entry rate of youth compared with prime age males, it must be recognised that in excess of 50 per cent of labour market entry by young people does not involve unemployment. Foster and Gregory (1982a: p.122) have summarised several of these findings in the five propositions that teenagers, compared with prime age males, have:

- a higher propensity to separate from jobs to enter unemployment
- a higher propensity to separate from jobs to leave the labour force
- a lower rate of successful labour force entry
- a slightly lower rate of finding jobs when unemployed
- a higher rate of exit from unemployment to leave the labour force.

Secondly, the duration of completed spells in employment and unemployment in Table 4 are shorter for young people than for prime age males with, for example, the average duration of unemployment for teenage males being only 2.6 months compared with 3.2 months for prime age males; and teenage males are employed on average for only 13.5 months compared with 66.7 months for their adult counterparts.[2] These durations of completed spells are shorter than published data diving 'snapshot' information on durations at the time of labour force surveys because the snapshot contains a preponderence of long spells.[3]

Thirdly, using a procedure to evaluate the relative contribution of differences in transition probabilities, associated with frequency of unemployment experiences on the one hand and duration of unemployment on the other hand, in the unemployment rate of different demographic groups,

Table 4. Durations of Completed Spells of Employment, Unemployment, and Non Participation, by Age 1979-80 (expressed in months)

	Employment	Unemployment	Outside the Labour Force
Males			
15-19	13.5	2.6	6.6
20-24	31.3	3.0	3.5
25-54	66.7	3.2	4.4
Females			
15-19	12.3	2.8	7.1
20-24	21.7	2.8	9.0

Source: Calculated from proportions in Part B of preceding Tables

Foster and Gregory (1982b: p.16) were able to conclude that: 'When unemployment is divided into monthly inflows and average durations it is clear that it is the variation in inflow rates to unemployment that is most closely associated with the variation in unemployment rates across demographic groups. Groups with higher unemployment rates have higher inflow rates, and groups with lower unemployment rates have lower inflow rates. By contrast, there is no discernible association between the unemployment rate and the duration of unemployment'. On the basis of this finding, the high unemployment rates of young people are mainly attributable to the fact that young people have rates of employment turnover which greatly exceed those of prime age males.

Interpreting the Qualitative Significance of the Dynamism of the Youth Labour Market Evident from Gross Flows Data

There are at least two strands of investigation which need to be pursued in drawing qualitative conclusions from gross flows analysis of the kind summarised above. These strands are:

- Is the high level of employment separation among young people indicative of a small group of young people, with identifiable personal and background characteristics, changing jobs frequently while most young people experience a less volatile employment record? Alternatively, is high employment separation a feature of most young people?
- Is the apparent ease with which young people leave employment indicative of a small group of young people, with identifiable personal and background characteristics, being unemployed for long periods of time while most young people experience little difficulty in moving out of unemployment? Alternatively, is unemployment a short term and transitory experience for all young people?

It is fair to observe that Australian research on labour market dynamics of young people has concentrated on the second of these strands, by drawing attention to the contrast between the distribution of unemployment by persons and the distribution by weeks and to the implications of the similar nature of unemployment and non-participation for young people in interpreting the flow data relative to unemployment. Relatively little is known from Australian research about whether there is a group of chronic job changers. The key aspects underlying these two areas of investigation are discussed in this section.

Employment Turnover

Virtually nothing has been highlighted in the Australian literature on labour market dynamics about whether there exists a group of persistent job changers with identifiable personal characteristics, and whether persistent job changing early in a young person's employment history represents a critical problem. Relevant insights into the data needed to undertake this kind of investigation and of the principal results obtained may be obtained from overseas work and some aspects of this work are now briefly examined.

Defining a chronic job changer to be one who 'changed jobs, on average, more than once every six months', Baxter (1975: p.185) used data on the records of school leavers at a local employment office in England to identify the chronic job changers aged 15 to 17 years; to assess the incidence of chronic job changing; and to describe the characteristics of chronic job changers. Only 3 to 4 per cent of males, and 2 to 3 per cent of females, were found to be chronic job changers, and the male chronic job changers were found to demonstrate '... a fairly steady rate of job changing, with an average of about three starts a year' (Baxter, 1975: p. 187). The relatively small numbers of chronic job changers were not only responsible for a disproportionate proportion of all job changes but also were responsible for between 10 and 50 per cent of the total unemployed, by having short term but frequent appearances on the unemployment register. Dismissals accounted for 48 per cent of all job changes by chronic job changers, and half of these dismissals were for disciplinary reasons, while the key factors in voluntary leaving were dislike of the job and poor job pay. By comparing the level of skills required in the first and last jobs held by chronic job changers, it was evident that more than half experienced a decline in skill levels, while only 10 per cent experienced an upgrading in jobs, and the position of the remaining group was uncertain. A range of personal factors - such as poor education, domestic difficulties in the family environment, and impulsive immature personalities - was identified as contributing to high levels of job changing in general. Finally, by following the employment history of job changers after the age of 17 years, the Baxter study indicated that people who were chronic job changers between 15 and 17 years subsequently changed jobs at a receding but still above-average rate. The key general finding of this study is that there exists a small group of young people for whom the rate of job changing is well above average, and who account for a disproportionately high proportion of all job changing among youth.

Drawing on longitudinal data relating to individuals included in the United Kingdom National Survey of Health and Development, Cherry (1976) established that certain indicators - school attendance, tractability

(teachers' ratings of personal attitudes of student), ability, birthrank - were effective predictors of young persons who experience difficulties in retaining employment. The study portrayed frequent job changers as 'a group of young people with poor school adjustment and low ability whose uncooperative behaviour at school was rapidly followed by a swift, and for the boys, involuntary departure from their first job' (Cherry, 1976: p.217). But the possibility that the pattern of frequent job changing could result in the individuals involved being confined to low paying, low skill jobs of an unpleasant nature was examined and found not to hold, and there was no indication that persistent job changers subsequently become the long term unemployed. Neve theless evidence was found that young people who had worked in at least four jobs by the age of 18 subsequently had an above-average incidence of personal problems.

In summarising the findings of several major United States studies focusing upon dynamic aspects of the United States labour market, Freeman and Wise (1980: p.16) observed that 'many persons have expressed the fear that periods of unemployment early in one's working career could have substantial effects on employment in future years'. But they went on to point out that after individual differences between young people are controlled for, there is little evidence that periods of unemployment when young result in recurring unemployment subsequently, although the individuals concerned suffer by failing to accumulate the work experience which would have entitled them to higher wages. Freeman and Wise (1980: p.18) concluded that '... unemployment does not by itself foster later unemployment but the effect of unemployment is felt in lower wages, and this effect may be quite substantial'. The data source for this kind of finding is longitudinal survey data providing information on successive interviews with the same group of individuals. In view of the potential significance of this source of data in analysing the youth labour market[4] the absence of comparable data in the Australian context deprives researchers and policy makers of a critical source of information.

While Australia lacks longitudinal data of the kind necessary to fully understand the significance of high rates of employment separation for young people, relevant information on the attitudes of young people towards their jobs is now available, and these data may be used to gain insight into the reasons for high levels of job changing by the young, if it is believed that job changing on a large scale indicates dissatisfaction with jobs. In Table 5, an age breakdown is provided indicating whether employees are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied (Column 1); satisfied or very satisfied (Column 2); or neither satisfied nor dissatisfied in their assessment of their job. From these data it is apparent that a higher proportion of teenagers and young adults are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their jobs than among adults. For females, the proportion of workers who were satisfied or very satisfied with their jobs increases with age, while for males the main points of interest are the comparatively high proportion of teenage males satisfied with their job, and the comparatively low proportion of male young adults satisfied.

More detailed information on attitudes presented in Table 6 indicates that among the 15 to 24 age group, those with tertiary qualifications have a higher tendency to be very satisfied with their job, while those with trade certificates have a lower than average tendency to be very satisfied with their jobs. Those young people who have been employed with their current employer for under one year have a greater tendency to be very dissatisfied than those who have been with the current employer for five

Table 5. Job Satisfaction by Age, Australia

(Based on survey undertaken between February and May 1979; per cent of employees)

	Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied	Satisfied or very satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Number of employees represented in survey (thousands)
Males				
15-19	10.2	80.7	9.1	296.2
20-24	13.4	70.8	15.8	405.9
25-34	10.6	75.8	13.6	807.2
35-44	8.6	79.5	11.9	567.1
45-54	6.1	84.1	9.8	493.3
55-59	5.6	82.2	12.2	209.0
60 and over	5.2	86.5	8.3	112.4
Females				
15-19	12.9	74.2	12.9	223.1
20-24	12.1	76.9	12.3	328.2
25-34	10.8	76.3	12.8	340.5
35-44	7.9	81.0	11.1	243.2
45-54	5.5	88.5	6.0	208.4
55 and over	1.8	94.1	4.1	84.8

Source: ABS, Working Conditions, Australia February to May 1979, Catalogue No. 6335.0, Table 2.

years and over, though perhaps a surprisingly large proportion of the short duration employees indicated they were very satisfied with their job. The data in Part 3 of Table 6 points to a direct association between level of job satisfaction and pay. Finally, from Table 6, it is interesting to observe that 63.8 per cent of those who were very dissatisfied with their job and 57.1 per cent of those who were dissatisfied, indicated a desire for work with greater variety, and the next most common change sought by the dissatisfied group was work which is more worthwhile. These changes were sought by only small proportions of those who were very satisfied with their jobs.

Unemployment Separations

Early work on the flows approach pointed to the apparent ease with which the unemployed move out of unemployment, and the resultant short

Table 5.6 Attitude of Young People (15-24) Towards Jobs

(per cent)

	Overall Level of Job Satisfaction					
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisifed	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Total
1. Distribution of young people, by educational attainment						
With post school qualifications:	3.0	8.6	48.9	26.3	13.1	100.0
Degree, diploma, technicians certificate	2.2	9.2	47.7	29.2	11.8	100.0
Trade certificate	4.7	7.2	51.5	19.9	16.7	100.0
Without post school qualifications:	4.7	7.8	49.3	25.6	12.6	100.0
Attended last year of secondary school	5.1	7.3	48.7	25.7	13.1	100.0
Did not attend last year of secondary school	4.5	8.0	49.6	25.6	12.4	100.0
All education attainments	4.2	8.0	49.2	25.8	12.8	100.0
2. Distribution of young people, by duration of employment with current employment						
Under 1 year	4.5	7.9	45.7	30.5	11.4	100.0
1 year and under 5 years	4.4	8.0	50.0	24.0	13.6	100.0
5 years and over	2.4	8.6	56.7	18.8	13.5	100.0
3. Distribution of young people, by attitude towards amount of gross pay						
Very dissatisfied with pay	20.5	15.2	36.2	8.0	20.0	100.0
Dissatisfied with pay	6.2	15.3	48.7	11.8	18.0	100.0
Satisfied with pay	2.6	5.9	55.6	26.0	10.0	100.0
Very satisfied with pay	0.6	3.1	28.9	62.6	4.7	100.0
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with pay	6.0	8.7	47.3	16.4	21.6	100.0
4. Proportion in each situation seeking principal changes in working conditions						
More variety in work	63.8	57.1	19.6	5.9	42.7	
Work which is more worthwhile	57.7	49.6	11.2	2.7	31.5	
Higher wages or salary	50.5	47.5	38.0	20.3	49.5	
More say in decisions	44.8	43.7	27.9	18.2	34.7	
More promotion opportunities	44.4	42.5	24.9	10.9	47.5	

Source: ABS, Working Conditions, Australia February to May 1979, Catalogue No. 6335.0, Tables 6, 7, 23, 3

average duration of unemployment, and thus had the effect of downgrading the significance of hardcore unemployment and emphasising instead the short term nature of much unemployment. Subsequent research on labour market dynamics heavily qualified the benign view of unemployment emerging from these early studies by pointing to the distinction between the characteristics of those who experienced unemployment over a period (the majority of whom are correctly described as having a short duration of unemployment), and the characteristics of the unemployed at a point of time. The unemployed at any time includes a comparatively small group of persons who nevertheless have been unemployed for long periods and this small group thus accounts for a disproportionate amount of unemployment. In the case of young people, the position which emerged was summarised by Feldstein and Ellwood (1979: p.9) in the observation that 'while most teenagers have little problem with unemployment, teenage unemployment is concentrated in a group that experiences long periods of unemployment'. The contrast between the distribution of young persons by weeks of unemployment and the distribution of total weeks of unemployment is apparent from Table 7. The data in this table indicate that the majority of young people experiencing unemployment are out of work for short periods, yet the relatively small proportion who are unemployed for long periods is responsible for a disproportionate share of total weeks of unemployment.

Table 7 **Distribution of Young People Experiencing Unemployment and Weeks of Unemployment, February 1980 to February 1981**

(Data are percentage distributions)

Weeks Unemployed February 1980 to February 1981	Distribution of unemployed, by weeks	Distribution of total weeks of unemployment	Distribution of unemployed, by weeks	Distribution of total weeks of unemployment
	15 to 19		20 to 24	
1 - 4	19.9	2.6	18.4	2.5
4 - 8	19.7	6.7	18.1	5.7
8 - 13	18.9	11.2	17.9	9.8
13 - 26	15.4	17.0	17.6	18.0
26 - 39	10.6	19.5	9.4	16.1
39 - 52	7.3	18.8	7.4	17.5
52	8.2	24.1	11.2	30.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: ABS, Labour Force Experience During the Period February 1980 to February 1981, Catalogue No. 6206.0.

The critical problem of youth unemployment is one of extensive unemployment amongst a small group of people, rather than simply a matter of high rates of job turnover. As Clark and Summers (1980b: p.174) observed, '... people who find work easily contribute negligibly to the unemployment statistics. Joblessness as a major social and economic problem arises from the experience of the relative few who have prolonged difficulty in finding work'.

It is unfortunate that little is presently known about the personal characteristics of young people in Australia who have been unemployed for long periods; for example, whether they are noticeably less educated than average; whether they are of any particular ethnic grouping; whether they are located in some areas rather than others. The answers to these questions could be available from suitable cross-classification of characteristics derived from population census data, but unfortunately no attempt is currently made in census collections to ascertain the duration of unemployment experiences, or indeed their frequency of occurrence.

It is clear that young people frequently end spells of unemployment by moving outside the labour force, and the significant difference between young people and prime age males in the movements from unemployment emanates less from differences in job-finding propensity and more from the greater likelihood that unemployed young people subsequently move out of the labour force. These factors point again to the importance of non-participation for young people and the tenuous nature of the distinction between young people who are classified as unemployed (not having a job, available for, and actively seeking work) and those who are the hidden unemployed and, as such, not in the labour force (not having a job, not available for work and/or not actively seeking work). A young person who in successive monthly surveys is identified as unemployed/out of labour force/unemployed may in fact be in a comparable state of joblessness throughout, with the difference being whether or not a specific definition of unemployment requiring the unemployed to have actively looked for work is satisfied. Since some proportion of young people who are not in the labour force at any point of time are in reality at a stage in the job cycle, ignoring such people in the count of jobless youth by focusing only upon those youth who at a point of time meet the definition of unemployment is to capture only part of the proper dimension of youth joblessness.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gross flows statistics identify the number of persons each month moving between employment, unemployment and outside the labour force, and thus enable the source of inflows, and the destination of outflows, to be precisely determined. A full explanation of the nature of Australian gross flows statistics is provided in Foster (1981).

2. The more detailed analyses of Akerlof and Main (1980) (relating to the United States) and Trivedi and Baker (1982) (relating to Australia) have drawn attention to the desirability of distinguishing between those who experience only one period of unemployment during a period (for whom the duration of their single spell of unemployment is greater than the average completed duration of unemployment spells) and those who experienced multiple spells of unemployment (who have an average unemployment duration which is shorter than that for those with sirgle spells).

For the group with multiple spells the total amount of unemployment is raised by the multiplicity of unemployment experiences. Of particular importance is the finding of Trivedi and Baker (1982: p.14) that 'the average completed duration for all spells substantially understates the duration for one spell individuals; it also appears that a single spell of teenage unemployment is on average longer than that of the twenty and over group, and in recent years it has approached a period of nearly six months.

3. At the time of being surveyed, unemployment spells included in the snapshot are not complete, the interrupted mean of these spells should be doubled to give the likely completed duration for persons captured in the snapshot. A further complication in analysing data on the average duration of unemployment comes from the fact that the average probability of leaving unemployment declines with progressive lengthening in the duration of unemployment. This arises both because of the operation of a sorting process whereby individuals who are less likely to leave unemployment become progressively more heavily represented in the unemployment stock as duration lengthens and because individual propensities to leave unemployment may change with increases in duration.

4. A detailed discussion of the use of longitudinal data in analysing the youth labour market is provided in Kalechek (1980).

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REVIEW PAPER NO. 10

WHO GETS AHEAD?

Inequalities in Access to Post-Secondary Education

by

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This paper is an abridged and updated version of an address Inequalities in Access to Post-Secondary Education given to the Conference on Learning and Earning held at the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education, July 1983.

In Learning and Earning it is asserted that 'Education plays a part in reducing inequalities of opportunity in Australia'.[1] This is not an entirely correct statement, and in the first part of this paper I suggest that the evidence shows that higher education cements rather than reduces inequalities. The second part discusses some of the reforms which were intended to democratise higher education and why these have not been successful. The final section lists changes which would seem to be necessary if equal opportunity to participate in post-secondary education were to be extended to all classes in the community.

Persisting Inequalities in Participation

So far as young people are concerned, the chief inequality of access to post-secondary education is that some get it and some don't: fewer than 40 per cent of all school leavers enter some form of post-secondary education, and less than half of these are studying full-time. The remaining 60 per cent go either into work or a dole queue. Within post-secondary education, Technical and Further Education (TAFE) students - who on average come from relatively poor families - get a cheap education, and university and college of advanced education (CAE) students - who, as a general rule, come from wealthier families - get a more expensive one. Within higher education itself there are some very large differences in the participation rates of students from various social strata, both between and within sectors. These inequalities are facts: whether they are good or bad, necessary or indulgent, is a matter for value judgement in the light of the private and social purposes which we hold to be appropriate for post-secondary education.

It is of interest to see how things have, or rather have not changed over the years. In the 1930s John La Nauze wrote:

> ... that there is considerable inequality in the opportunity to acquire education beyond the normal school leaving age ... and that inequality is correlated with level of income.

He also noted that:

> ... boys from State schools are in a minority in all faculties ... except those which lead to school teaching; and that even in these faculties that is, science and arts, there is a negligible number in honours courses ...[2]

which he regarded as just about the only worthwhile education at university. La Nauze observed that the State school arts and science students were mainly teachers doing part-time courses; this he regarded as a miserable

way to study.

The same social pattern with respect to honours arts courses obtained in Melbourne in the 1950s and 1960s, I am sure still does. Students who had come from non-Catholic independent schools were more likely than others to enrol in the high status professional faculties of medicine and law; if they were interested in arts then they were far more likely to choose an honours course. In part, the absence of former State school students from honours courses was due to the practice of the State education departments directing their studentship holders, who were mostly from State schools, to take the shorter and broader pass degree.

There were only 14,000 university students in 1939 when the Australian population was seven million. There were few scholarships, universities charged fees (with the exception of the University of Western Australia) and only a handful of students who started in State secondary school systems got as far as qualifying to matriculate.

After the War universities were invaded by vast numbers of ex-service students; some were resuming courses, but most were new students attracted by generous Commonwealth Reconstruction Scheme grants. Many of these new students in ordinary circumstances would not have contemplated higher education. By 1947 universities were bursting at the seams - army huts followed the ex-servicemen to the campuses and Melbourne University opened a new branch in the ex-RAAF base at Mildura.

This period of national reconstruction after the War contributed to a major expansion in Australian higher education. University and teachers' college enrolments almost doubled between 1945 and 1950, and, although few guessed it at the time, high growth rates were to be sustained for two more decades.

By late 1950s education had come to be seen by most people as the major means of enhancing life-chances, if not for themselves, then for their children. The number of university places was increased, but not at a rate sufficient to keep up with the demand. Pressure was in part due to population growth - the post-World War II babies had reached university age - and in part to a demand from groups which, in earlier times, would never have considered university education. Participation rates of two birth cohorts illustrate what was happening. For the cohort born in 1936, the rate of participation in university by age 21 was just under 5 per cent; for the cohort born 20 years later, the rate had more than doubled to 10 per cent.

This revolution of participation during the 1950s and 1960s brought great pressure on universities which, although they were expanded, could not accommodate the growing demand. The pressure was twofold - as well as increased demand across the board, State education departments had to recruit and train the extra teachers needed for the burgeoning secondary schools. They recruited with the aid of lucrative secondary studentships for arts, science and education courses, and for quite some time universities were training far more students for the teaching profession than for all the other professions combined. For the first time all qualified students were not able to gain admission. Competitive quotas were filled according to what was euphemistically called 'order of merit': it was based on aggregate examination marks. In the mid and late 1970s this pressure eased as many young school leavers apparently preferred the labour force to higher education.

For a while, after the expansion of the 1960s, it appeared as if the democratisation of university education was occurring through increased participation of social groups in succession from the top of the hierarchy downwards. The move towards a more representative body of undergraduates did not continue as expected, however, and from the mid-1960s until the present there does not seem to have been much change in the social composition at universities.

The first ever national study of school leavers was made by the late Dr W.C. Radford of ACER who studied the destinations of all children who left Australian schools in 1959-60. A repeat study was made in 1971-72, and a comparative study is now underway of a national sample of leavers who left school in the late 1970s.[3] The results show how schools sift young people according to social origins, as well as by academic attainment, so that many of the children from families of lower social status have left well before the point of entry to higher education.

Participation in higher education after leaving school rose from 13 per cent in 1960 to 20 per cent in 1972 but then fell back to 15 per cent in 1978-80. When the upper and lower half of the social distribution are compared (corresponding roughly to white-collar and blue-collar workers) the participation rate of the upper half remains consistently about double that of the lower half (see Table 1).

Table 1

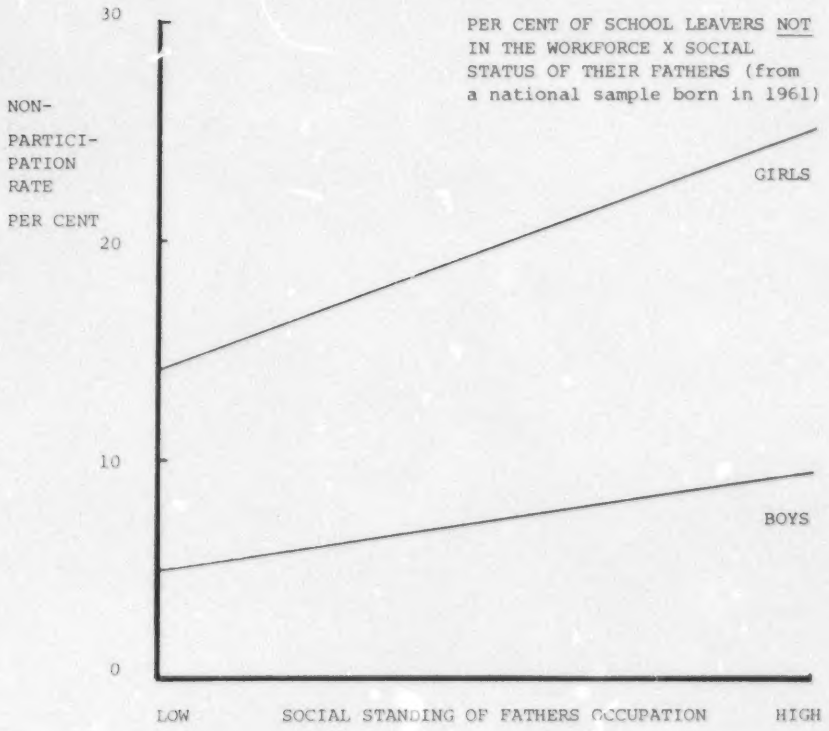
Participation in full-time higher education* of Australian school leavers from white-collar and blue-collar families in 1960, 1972 and 1980

	Per cent who enrolled the year after school		
	1960	1972	1978-80
Upper half#	19	27	20
Lower half	9	14	11

* The nature and definition of higher education changed over time and comparisons should therefore be made with care. In 1960 CAEs did not exist and the largest professional group, teachers, were trained in Education Department colleges and were awarded a certificate rather than a degree or diploma; by 1980 virtually all teachers were trained in CAEs. Also in 1960 and 1972 a large number of female leavers entered full-time study in a business college; by 1980 this category was substantially diminished. For the purpose of this analysis participation in higher education is taken as a full-time enrolment in a business college, teachers college, senior technical college, CAE or university.

\# 45 per cent in 1960; 51 per cent in 1972; 46 per cent in 1980 were the points in the occupational rank order closest to a 50:50 division. The 1960 and 1972 data are populations; 1978-80 data are based on a national sample of 2,931 born in 1961.

School leavers who became apprentices or who entered full-time Technical Colleges are more evenly distributed across the social spectrum: in the late 70s rates for white-collar and blue-collar were 18 per cent and 20 per cent respectively. It is noteworthy however that the participation rate in unemployment is greater for the lower social group. In 1960 and 1972 there were insignificant numbers of leavers who were neither in full-time education or full-time employment; in the most recent sample there were 14 per cent. The association between social class and not being in full-time study or employment runs in the opposite direction to the association between class and higher education. In the upper (white-collar) group the rate was 11 per cent, in the lower (blue-collar) it was 16 per cent. The rate for girls was more than double for that for boys - 19.7 per cent females, 8.3 per cent males (see Graph).



Despite the enormous changes in Australian society and the vast expansion of the education system the social composition of school leavers entering higher education has changed little in 25 years. There continues to be a progressive attrition during upper secondary education so that by Year 12 most of the bottom fifth and a good part of the lower half of the social hierarchy have disappeared from school. The 15 per cent of each age cohort who enter higher education from school are unrepresentative of the social spectrum - professional and managerial families being substantially over-represented and semi-skilled and unskilled manual working families being substantially under-represented. Law and medicine rank highest in the social order of faculties in universities, followed by engineering, arts, science, economics and education.

Some of my university colleagues would assert that all this is beside the point. In their view, higher education is concerned with one thing only - to select the best intellects and given them the best education possible, and nothing else matters. 'Universities', they say, 'are not about rectifying social inequalities generally, and in particular they have no business whatsoever in discriminating on any criteria but intellectual promise'. Without getting into an argument about university purposes, the responses to this view are that, first, there are bright young people who fail to continue on to university or college because of parental poverty or parental attitudes, and, on grounds of selecting the best intellects, some reforms are needed; secondly, on grounds of equity, it is not easy to defend the disproportionate expenditure of public funds on the minority who gain access to higher education. Medical graduates or the Ph.D scholars have had about $80,000 of public money devoted to their education. The person who leaves school at age 15 has benefited from perhaps one-third of that amount. Furthermore, there are substantive private benefits which attach to graduates in the form of higher salaries, higher social prestige and influence, and a salubrious life style. And of course these benefits are bestowed more upon the children of the rich than on the children of the poor.

Attempts at Reform

There have been three general responses to the evidence of persisting inequality in higher education. The first is an adaptation of the market principle of 'let the user pay'. The argument has been that, if there are poor students, whose circumstances prevent them paying for the necessary costs, then loans should be provided which can be repaid from the high earnings which a graduate can expect to enjoy. The idea has lost favour recently, partly because of US evidence which shows that it tends to be the better off students who make greatest use of loans.

A second response may be dubbed the welfare approach under which assistance is targeted at poorer students. This was the approach of the Whitlam Government which introduced the means-tested TEAS allowance, and abolished fees for all tertiary students. The fact that there wasn't a discernable change in the social make-up of the undergraduate body doesn't mean that some poorer students were not assisted.[4] The disappearance, at about the same time, of some 50,000 lucrative secondary studentships, would have led to a social regression had it not been for the Whitlam reforms. Nevertheless one would not expect a large equalisation of participation to follow from fee abolition and student allowances because such intervention is too late in the process - those most in need of help have left school before Year 12. Assistance to tertiary students is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for assisting the able poor.

A third approach to overcoming inequality of opportunity for higher education is to discriminate positively in favour of the disadvantaged. This has been tried with respect to selection of students in USA and to an extent in UK (Oxford is proposing a small quota for state school applicants!),[5] but not in Australia with some possible exceptions in the case of Aboriginal students. On the other hand, some Schools Commission funding programs are targeted at disadvantaged groups. US experience is that positive discrimination, especially in admission, is acceptable only up to a point; if it becomes too obvious or effective there is a backlash.

A Program for Democratisation of Participation

The contribution which welfare provisions, changes to selection methods, or positive discrimination, can make to democratisation of post-secondary education is strictly limited. The steps which are taken must be socially acceptable and the limits of this are narrow; there comes a point when discrimination invites a backlash as has happened in the U.S. Up to the point of backlash the changes are usually not very effective. And in any event while the size of post-secondary education remains constant, and the prizes remain as glittering, the effects of adjusting the handicaps as the applicants approach the starting-gate is merely to intensify the competition. In response to measures for helping the poor to get ahead, those already well up in the hierarchy will redouble their efforts to retain their advantage or, stated from a sociological perspective, education systems translate parental advantage into financial opportunity - that is as true for Russia or Yugoslavia as it is for Australia, the USA or Britain. This, of course, contrasts with the optimistic view of Learning and Earning that education reduces inequality of opportunity, a view for which I find little evidence in Australia. If anything it amplifies it. Education is a lift for a few, but for most it is a sieve.

If there is to be equal opportunity for members of all classes to participate, it is the system itself which has to change, mainly by becoming larger, and by dissolving the rigid boundaries which exist between TAFE and CAEs, and CAEs and universities. Martin Trow, an American sociologist who studies systems of higher education, has coined the terms 'the élite system' and the 'mass system'.[6] In an élite system, such as in Britain and in most other European countries, around 10 to 15 per cent of an age group enter higher education. The term élite applies to both intellectual attainment and to social class. In an élite system high intellectual criteria are used for admissions and for graduation; there is, of course, no deliberate selection by social class but nevertheless the educational and social structures ensure that the composition of higher education is highly biased towards the upper end.

In a mass system, such as America's or Japan's, over 70 per cent of an age group participate, the lowest social groups are well represented, and tough intellectual criteria do not inhibit enrolment or graduation. In 1978, for example, 14 per cent of the students in American colleges and universities came from families in the bottom 20 per cent of the national income distribution. Naturally there is a great deal of diversity in the American and Japanese systems and some parts have very élite characteristics.

Until recently, Trow and most other social scientists writing on the future of higher education, believed that élite systems would change to

mass systems. They thought that this change would be demand-driven and the desire to continue formal education would gradually move 'down' through the social structure; that is, beyond the social and academic strata which had traditionally provided students for the old, small, élite systems. This has not yet happened.

Australia's system is more élite than mass; it is more open on intellectual criteria and more socially representative than the British system. With respect to participation, the current rate is about 22 per cent of a generation in university or CAE; that, of course, is not just enrolments straight from school, but includes those who enrol later in their lives. As we have seen students from professional and managerial backgrounds are over-represented and students from working class backgrounds are under-represented.

As élite systems move towards becoming mass systems the social groups which show the biggest increase in participation are not those least represented, but rather those closest to the participating ones. Increased participation by successive social groups can be represented by a series of S-curves. For each new group the rate is slow at first, then accelerates and then flattens out as the saturation point is approached. As the size of the system expands, the participation rate of young people from the middle and lower social orders follows the same pattern of acceleration after a slow start until saturation is reached.

If higher education is to be democratised it will be via expansion rather than shuffling the queue or by messing about with handicaps as the candidates approach the starting-gate.

An expanded post-secondary education is not the main purpose for encouraging the greater part of each generation to stay on at school - the chief reason is to raise the general education level of the Australian population, to enhance the life styles of individuals and to provide collective benefits to society from a more highly educated and better trained population. There are also some more mundane arguments - in times of high youth unemployment, keeping young people at school delays their entry to the labour market and perhaps increases their employability.

I fully expect that the long term trend towards greater participation in school will continue and that in a few years there will be a majority of Australian young people staying on to complete 12 years of school or its equivalent. The last eight or ten years, during which there has been a levelling out of the participation rate for girls and a decline in the rate for boys, will come to be seen as a wobble on a general upwards trend which has existed for 80 years. Already in 1983 there is an increase over 1982 of about 13 per cent of students staying to Year 11 and 11 per cent staying to Year 12 in public schools (see Table 2).

The reasons for this sudden restoration of the long-term trend are not entirely clear but there are a number of plausible explanations. First, the decline of the last 8-10 years may be seen as an overreaction to the bad news from the labour market - capable students left school to take a job rather than spend further years in study and then risk unemployment. The message is probably now getting through that additional years of education are an advantage in gaining entry to the labour force. Secondly, there is a new conservatism abroad with which is associated a concern for attaining security in an uncertain and threatening world. Once again education is seen as an important means for enhancing life-chances. Thirdly,

Table 2

Per cent increases of enrolments 1982 to 1983: public schools in Australian States and Territories

	Year 11	Year 12
New South Wales	17.8	9.0
Victoria	9.5	11.6
Queensland	19.2	12.1
South Australia	1.4	8.9
West Australia	20.4	13.7
Tasmania	27.1	14.8
Northern Territory	16.5	47.5
A.C.T.	8.2	6.7
Total	13.0	10.7

Enrolments were as at March except for W.A., Tasmania and N.T. which were at July.

These data were compiled by Simon Marginson, Research Officer, Australian Teachers Federation.

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the decline in the number of apprenticeships is causing significant numbers to seek qualifications through further study. Fourthly, federal government policy (Liberal and now Labor) for increased participation is probably having an effect on views about what is the normal thing to do. Until recently it was the expected thing for most young people to leave school at age 15 or 16. Now the Government is saying that it is wise to stay on. Furthermore, at the school level, there are signs that policies and practices are changing and teachers are less inclined to 'cool out' the non-academic students around Year 10. 'Alternative' programs (an odd use of the word) are being developed for those who do not appear destined for higher education. Finally there is a 'snowball' effect. Students' views about staying on switch once it becomes apparent that returning to school for Years 11 and 12 is not entirely aberrant behaviour, and that some of the peer leaders are thinking of it.

There are several major structural changes needed in secondary schools if participation to Year 12 for a majority is to be accomplished without too much trauma. It is of great importance to recognise that older teenagers are really young adults but that we continue to design and run their schools as if they were inhabited by children. Numerous surveys have shown that many students actively dislike school. Some are alienated in the Marxist sense of that term, exhibiting a sense of powerlessness and diminished self-esteem as they engage in enforced, meaningless labour. It is timely to consider new sorts of institutions (they may not be called

schools) for the upper secondary years; learning settings where the role of a student as an autonomous learner is not diminished by what sometimes seems to be the over-riding necessity for teachers to maintain order. Canberra's Secondary Colleges and Victoria's secondary technical schools (where the 1983 increased retention rate for years 11 and 12 is three times that for high schools) may have something to offer.

At the same time a curriculum appropriate for the entire range of students has to be developed. Secondary curriculum has to be made generally comprehensive. There has been a consistent pressure on the Australian education system to steer it towards becoming a segregated system of academic and vocational studies; the latter being tailored towards the labour market, the former designed for those destined for higher education. While the pressure for a vocational curriculum has remained constant over the years the arguments are for it to change with the times: a few years back it was in order to exploit the resource boom, more recently it has been to combat unemployment.

A further structural problem is the division of Australian schools into the so-called public and private systems, a division which, while providing for diversity and freedom of choice has some unfortunate educational and social side effects. One of these is directly related to the thesis of this address because, if private schools are increasingly seen as an 'out' by parents who have conventional academic ambitions for their children, then the burden on public schools increases, as they struggle to provide quality programs for the entire age range of abilities and interests. Jean Blackburn remarked recently that public schools are being viewed increasingly as vocational institutions for 'other ranks'. Should this perception spread, and private schools come to be seen as the secure route to higher education and the professions, academic programs in public schools will weaken, and, because of their social composition (see Table 3) the task of further democratising higher education will be that much more difficult.

Table 3

Father's occupation and type of school Australia*
(percentage)

	Public Schools	Catholic Schools	Other private Schools
Professional and managerial	21	34	64
Small business and clerical	21	24	18
Craft workers	25	17	11
Manual and service workers	34	25	7
Total	100	100	100

* The table has been compiled from data made available by Dr T. Williams of the Australian Council for Educational Research. The information is from a national longitudinal study of a representative sample of Australian school students and is based on a subsample of 4507 students who were 14 years of age in 1975.

To sum up, the 'natural' sociological function of schooling is to translate parental advantage into financial opportunity. If nature is to be reformed with the intention, in the words of Learning and Earning, of making education play a part in reducing inequality of opportunity in Australia, the secondary system has to be expanded as well as the tertiary. There is enormous intellectual potential which is never realised because of Australian education structures: low participation, rigid boundaries, the public/private divide. A reasonable assumption is that the distribution of fundamental (genetic) intellectual ability is not very different between the main social groups, and that it is home and school which affect IQ and scholastic performance. The fraction of each generation which could benefit from higher education ought to approach the fraction in the highest participating class, perhaps 35 per cent, which would be more than 10 per cent above the present rate of participation.

An agenda for greater education participation would be something like the following:

1. Explicitly encourage universal participation to Year 12 or its equivalent. A target might be the doubling of the present rate to 70 per cent by 1988. The process has already commenced of its own accord.

2. Design upper secondary 'schools' to meet the needs of the entire range of adolescents.

3. Plan for majority participation in post-secondary education, say 70 per cent, roughly divided evenly between TAFE and higher education (although these boundaries need to be blurred - see below). Increased retention in secondary schools already occurring will cause great pressure on higher education enrolments, but there are few provisions for this.

4. Diminish the rigid boundaries which exist between secondary and post-secondary education and between TAFE, CAEs and universities so that there are more tracks leading to admission to higher education. Attainment in vocational courses should be recognised as a qualification for entry to higher education.

5. Reduce the sharp public/private divide in secondary education as a result of which the prime pathway to higher academic work is seen to be via private schools.

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